CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

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By
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with the assistance of KEM SOS

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PREFACE

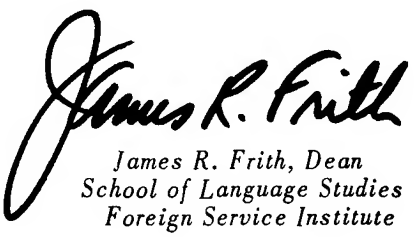
This is the first of seven interrelated volumes comprising **Contemporary Cambodian.** *The other six will be* **Introductory Lessons,** *four topic-oriented textbooks, and a comprehensive Cambodian-English English-Cambodian glossary. It is appropriate that this volume bearing the subtitle* **Grammatical Sketch** *should be the first module to appear since all the others are to be cross-referenced to it.*

Contemporary Cambodian, *of which the* **Grammatical Sketch** *is a central part, is not projected as a series. The topic-oriented modules are to be co-equal elements in an array of materials from which the course director can choose according to the interests of his students.*

Earl W. Stevick, in **Adapting and Writing Language Lessons** *(Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1971), says, "The modular principle suggests that the several components be designed so that they may be rearranged to suit the convictions of various kinds of user, and so that the individual components may be replaced with minimum disturbance to the rest." He cites earlier examples of the modular approach in the work of language textbook writers at the Foreign Service Institute and elsewhere. In the plan for* **Contemporary Cambodian,** *Miss Ehrman adopts the modular principle and applies it at the intermediate level.*

The **Grammatical Sketch** *is essentially a companion-piece to the other volumes. However, language scholars may also find it useful in its own right as a brief description of the Cambodian language.*

The seven modules of **Contemporary Cambodian,** *projected, in preparation, or completed, have been made possible by support from the Defense Language Institute and by the cooperation and encouragement of Dr. Roy F. Fallis, Jr., Chief of the DLI Systems Development Agency, and Colonel Roy M. Kessler, Director of the Defense Language Institute.*



James R. Frith, Dean
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Foreword

I. Introduction and Recommendations for Use

Contemporary Cambodian, a set of materials in modular form, is meant to teach the Cambodian language to beginning and intermediate students. It includes:

1) a basic module of sixty lessons
2) four intermediate modules of approximately fifteen lessons each, dealing with political, economic, social, cultural, and military topics (under preparation)
3) the present volume: a description of aspects of Cambodian grammar and usage. This volume does not include lessons; it is meant to be used for reference.
4) a Cambodian-English, English-Cambodian glossary (under preparation)

This part of Contemporary Cambodian is a description of the most important structural and stylistic features of the language. The first chapter is a brief introduction to the language and its speakers. The second chapter is a sketch of Cambodian phonology, that is, the sounds of the language. The following chapter outlines Cambodian syntax, the way words are put together into phrases, clauses and sentences. After the syntax chapter, the word classes nominals, verbals, adverbials, and relators are treated, each class in a separate chapter. The last chapter discusses special problems of vocabulary and usage, focusing on the effects of factors of relative age, social class, and blood relationship. There are two appendices, as well. The first summarizes the many uses of some very common words that are grammatically significant. The second appendix describes Cambodian naming patterns and presents the most common titles.

There are many points of grammar and usage that are not treated in this sketch. Some of these occur in the notes to the lessons, which are also part of Contemporary Cambodian. There are other points which are simply not treated in these materials at all. However, I hope that what has been included will meet the needs of beginning and intermediate students of Cambodian.

It is recommended that beginning students read the Introduction (Chapter I) and simply look quickly throught the rest of the grammatical sketch to give themselves an idea of its contents. Students should read carefully any sections of the sketch which are cross-referred to in the lesson they are currently studying; it would also be helpful

to look at sections surrounding the section referred to. After approximately twenty-four weeks of study it is recommended that the student read through the sketch to familiarize himself more thoroughly with its contents. The beginning and intermediate modules in this course are meant to be used with this grammatical sketch, since many very important points are not discussed in the notes to the lessons but simply given a cross-reference to the sketch.

II. Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the help of many people, without which this grammatical sketch would not have been possible. Responsibility for error is mine, of course, but whatever merit this volume may have is in large part due to the following:

to Dr. James Frith, Dean of the FSI School of Language Studies, for his interest, his encouragement, and his support throughout all phases of this project, from preparation of the proposal to final typing for publication. I owe my very fruitful six weeks in Phnom Penh more to Dr. Frith than to any other person. I especially appreciate Dr. Frith's patience with my impatience during periods of slow progress.

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to the many colleagues at FSI whose ideas influenced the format of these materials. The modular arrangement of the materials is the product of the thinking of many people here, chief among whom have been Dr. Ronald Goodison and Dr. Earl Stevick. Dr. Stevick was also of help in choosing the title Contemporary Cambodian.

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: Grammatical Sketch

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

I.1 Introduction

The official language of Cambodia is Cambodian, also known as Khmer. It is the native language of the approximately 7,000,000 Khmer who constitute a majority in Cambodia. Cambodian is spoken also by approximately 4,500,000 Cambodians in the Mekong Delta area of South Vietnam and approximately 700,000 in northeastern Thailand.

Other languages spoken in Cambodia include Vietnamese, Chinese, Cham, various Montagnard tongues in the northeastern region, and Thai near the Thailand border.

I.2 Geographic and Social Divisions of Cambodia

Cambodian geographic dialects differ little from one another. Social divisions, however, involve highly formalized conventions affecting the most common types of speech.

I.2.1 Geographic Divisions

The best known division in the Cambodian speech community is between Cambodia proper (including Cambodians in Thailand) and Cambodians living in South Vietnam, who are known as the Khmer Krom 'lower Cambodians.' The dialects are mutually intelligible, since the differences are primarily phonological and are slight. Khmer living in Thailand have a divergent dialect as well.[1]

Within Cambodia, Phnom Penh speech differs slightly from the provincial varieties of the language. The major feature distinguishing Phnom Penh speech is that where other dialects have either a flap or retroflex /r/, Phnom Penh has pharyngeal friction accompanied by a low pitch on the following vowel, plus changes in vowel quality in some cases.

The speech of the Khmer Krom is characterized by conservatism in pronunciation. It corresponds more closely to written Cambodian than does the Cambodian used in Cambodia.

I.2.2 Social Divisions

Members of all social classes use Cambodian for most everyday purposes. Commercial life before the 1970 disposition of Sihanouk was controlled largely by the Chinese (big business) and the Vietnamese (small business), and this fact was reflected in the widespread use of Chinese in major business transactions and of Vietnamese in small ones.

---

1. Franklin Huffman, personal communication.

Vietnamese was used for bargaining. Since spring 1970 many of the Vietnamese have left Cambodia and consequently they no longer control small business.

Most Khmers are peasants engaged in rice growing. The civil service is largely Khmer, but is relatively small. The other two important social classes among the Khmer are royalty and the Buddhist clergy.

Royalty and Buddhist monks each use a variety of Cambodian which is characterized by obligatory substitutions of vocabulary items, most notably personal pronouns and words referring to common activities like eating and walking. Members of these two groups must be addressed and described in language using these characteristic terms as well.

I.3 The Cambodian Language

The Cambodian language is the most important member of the Mon-Khmer language family. Mon-Khmer is probably related to Vietnamese; attempts have also been made to relate Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian language family, but so far no scholar has succeeded in providing completely convincing evidence for this hypothesis. Thus, for the time being, Cambodian and its Mon-Khmer relatives are treated as unrelated to any other languages. However, Cambodian has borrowed from many languages, especially from Sanskrit, Pali, Thai, and Vietnamese. It has also borrowed from Chinese, Portuguese, Malay, more recently French, and still more recently from English.

Most colloquial speech relies on native Mon-Khmer words; however, any elevation in style or discussion of topics of a political, cultural etc. nature involves the introduction of many words of Indian (Sanskrit and Pali) origin. Sanskrit and Pali bear much the same relation to Cambodian as Greek and Latin do to English. Most neologisms are coined using Indic roots, and puristic speakers prefer a neologism of Indic origin to a French or English borrowing. Nevertheless, the ordinary speech of urban Cambodians contains many French words, especially for products of Western technology and philosophy, since most secular education has been in French (but the amount of French used in the schools is currently decreasing in favor of Cambodian and, to some extent, English).

The majority of rural Cambodians are monolingual in Cambodian. However, the populations of areas bordering Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam are bilingual in varying degrees of fluency; Cambodian males who have studied at a Buddhist pagoda are familiar with Pali and Sanskrit, and some urban Cambodians know Chinese. Of course, educated Cambodians know French.

Cambodian may be typed as an isolating language, which means that it makes most of its

grammatical distinctions by means of word-order rather than by means of affixes and changes within words. Native Khmer words may include prefixes, suffixes, and infixes which change the part of speech (e.g. by turning a noun into a verb) or which change the root meaning of a word without changing its grammatical function. However, while the patterns of affixation are complex, the affixes are seldom used in new combinations and so are more helpful in recognizing relations between words than in the creation of new words.

Cambodian is unlike its neighbors in that it is nontonal. Most words of native origin are mono- or disyllabic; words of Indic origin tend to be polysyllabic. Cambodian words have stress on the last syllable, even in polysyllables borrowed from Sanskrit, Pali, and modern European languages.

PHONOLOGY

P.1 Consonants

Cambodian has 22 consonant phonemes (sets of sounds that distinguish between one word and another in a given language, e.g. English bet and pet, in which /b/ and /p/ are distinct phonemes). They are:

		labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	voiceless, unaspirated	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	voiceless, aspirated	ph	th	ch	kh	
	voiced, (implosive)	b	d			
Nasals		m	n	ñ	ŋ	
Fricatives		(f)[1]	s			h
Flap			r			
Lateral			l			
Semivowels		w	y			

Of these, only the following are likely to give much trouble to the English speaker.

P.1.1 Single Consonants

a.) /ñ/ is very similar to the ny sound in canyon or onion when pronounced fast. It is pronounced with the front third of the tongue starting from a position against the hard palate: ញឹយ /ñooy/ 'often,' ទិញ/tiñ/ 'buy.'

b.) English speakers use /ŋ/ all the time at the end of a syllable, e.g. song, singing. However, some Cambodian syllables begin with this sound, e.g. ងាយ/ŋiey/ 'easy' or ងងឹត /ŋəŋɨt/ 'dark.' If you are having trouble making this sound, try the following exercises:

1. Say singing, but draw out the ng, so that you are saying 'sinnngging.' Then try to break the word after the first i: si-nngging, si-nging, then leave off the si and say 'ŋing.'

---

1. Occurs only in words borrowed from other languages, e.g. /kafee/'coffee'

2. Put your tongue into position to say ga, but don't actually say it. Now instead of letting the air out through your mouth as you would when you say ga, let it out through your nose (as you would if you were saying ma or na). You should end up saying na. (Remember, as you say na to keep your tongue in the position for saying ga.)

c.) English speakers use both aspirated and unaspirated stops all the time, but they do not pay attention to them because they do not make distinctions between words with aspiration. For instance, if you hold a light piece of paper before your lips as you say pin (aspirated p), you will see the paper flap, but if you say spin (unaspirated p), the paper will move much less. In Cambodian, words are distinguished by the difference between an aspirated and unaspirated stop, e.g. កែ /kaɛ/ 'to correct' and ខែ /khaɛ/ 'month;' តា /taa/ 'grandfather' and ថា /thaa/ 'to say.' It will be necessary for you to listen for this distinction and be careful to make it when you speak.

Note that the unaspirated voiceless stops /t/ and /p/ may sound like the voiced stops /d/ and /b/. However, they, too, are in contrast, e.g. តែ /taɛ/ 'but, only' and ដែរ /daɛ/ 'also,' or ប្អូន /puon/ 'to hide' and ប្អូន /buon/ 'four.' The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ are articulated with a slight intake of air rather than the release of air to which you are accustomed in English.

d.) At the end of a syllable, /c/ is pronounced without friction. It may sound at first like a kind of /t/ to you, but in fact it is a ch-sound begun but not finished.

e.) Unlike the English retroflex r, Cambodian /r/ is a tongue-tip flap made just behind the upper teeth). It is very similar to the Spanish r in pero 'but.' Cambodian example: រយ /roɓy/ 'hundred,' ប្រាំ /pram/ 'five.' In Phnom Penh speech, prevocalic /r/ is replaced by pharyngealization and a low rising tone on the following vowel. If your teacher speaks the Phnom Penh variety of Cambodian imitate his pronunciation of the following words: ប្រែ /praɛ/ 'translate,' គ្រូ /kruu/ 'teacher,' រៀន /rien/ 'study.'

f.) The Cambodian /v/ varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers pronounce it like English w but others pronounce it like English v but with both lips rather than the upper lip and lower teeth as in English.

TABLE I

Initial Consonant Sequences[2]

a. Initial Stop

--	--	--	tp	tpŏl	cheek	cp	cpŭh	toward	kp	kpŭh	high
pt	ptuy	opposite	--	--	--	--	--	--	kt	ktih	coconut milk
pc	pcuo	to plow	--	--	--	--	--	--	kc	kcɛy	to borrow
pk	pkaa	flower	tk	tkiám	jaw	ck	ckaɛ	dog	--	--	--
p?	p?oun	younger sibling	t?	t?uuñ	to complain	c?	c?aɛt	full (food)	k?	k?uot	to vomit
--	--	--	tb	tbouŋ	south	cb	cbah	clear	kb	kbuon	rule
pd	pdɛy	husband	--	--	--	cd	cdop	erect	kd	kdaam	crab
ps	psaa	market	--	--	--	--	--	--	ks	ksaoy	weak
--	--	--	tm	tmɔɔ	stone	cm	cmaa	cat	km	kmaɛ	Cambodian
pn	pnum	hill	tn	tnɔl	street	cn	cnuol	servant	kn	knɔŋ	back
pñ	pñaə	to send	--	--	--	--	--	--	kñ	kñom	I
pŋ	pŋuut	to cause to bathe	tŋ	tŋay	day	cŋ	cŋaay	far	kŋ	kŋaok	peacock
pr	praə	to use	tr	trɛy	fish	cr	craən	much	kr	krɔɔ	poor
pl	plaɛk	strange	tl	tlay	expensive	cl	claəy	to answer	kl	klaay	body
py	pyiabaal	to take care of	ty	tyuuŋ	coal	--	--	--	ky	kyol	wind
--	--	--	tv	tvəə	to do	cv	cvia	Java	kv	kvol	to worry
--	--	--	db	dbət	since, as	--	--	--	qw	qwey	what?

Initial Consonant Sequences (continued)

b. Initial Continuant

--	--	--	lp	lpɨw	pumpkin	sp	spian	bridge
mt	mteeh	red pepper	--	--	--	st	stɨŋ	river
mc	mcul	needle	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	lk	lkaon	a play	sk	skɔɔ	sugar
m?	m?ɔɔm	a kind of herb	l?	l?ɔɔ	good	s?	s?aɛk	tomorrow
--	--	--	lb	lbaɛŋ	game	sb	sbaɛk	skin
md	mdaay	mother	--	--	--	sd	sdam	right (side)
ms	msaw	powder	--	--	--	--	--	--
--	--	--	lm	lmoom	enough	sm	smaə	equal
mn	mnóh	pineapple	--	--	--	sn	snaɛŋ	horn
mñ	mñeem mñɔɔ	an effeminite way of talking	--	--	--	sñ	sñaɛsñɔp	to admire
--	--	--	lŋ	lŋiac	evening	sŋ	sŋat	quiet
mr	mrɨc	pepper	--	--	--	sr	sruol	easy
ml	mlup	shade	--	--	--	sl	sloot	tame
--	--	--	lv	lveeŋ	compartment	sv	svaay	mango
mh	mhoup	food	lh	lhoŋ	papaya	--	--	--

2. In this table the distinction maintained in the transcription between p,t,k,c and ph,th,kh,ch is not made before another consonant, since in fact structurally there is no distinction between aspirates and nonaspirates in this position. That is, while on this point the usual transcription is really a transliteration, in this table, it is a real transcription.

P.1.2 Consonant Sequences

A Cambodian syllable can begin with a two-consonant sequence (ស្រឹ /trəw/ 'must') or three-consonant sequence (ស្ត្រី /strɤy/ 'woman (formal)'). A few of these will give the English speaker no trouble, since they also occur in English.

There is no contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops before another consonant. However, in order to aid in spelling in Cambodian script, the distinction between aspirated and nonaspirated consonants is maintained in the transcription used in these materials. Thus, for instance, ផ្កា /pkaa/ 'flower' is transcribed phkaa because the Cambodian character ផ represents the voiceless aspirate /ph/ before a vowel. However, it could equally well be transcribed /pkaa/.

P.2 Vowels

There are 30 distinct vowel nuclei occurring in Cambodian syllables. Many are very similar to English vowels; others are very different, and others are deceptively like English sounds at first hearing but prove to demand close attention for accurate imitation.

The Cambodian vowels divide up into the following classes: short vowels, long vowels, short diphthongs, and long diphthongs:

Short vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	ɔ

Long vowels:

	front	central	back
high	ii	ɨɨ	uu
high mid			oo (also written ou)
mid	ee	əə	ɔɔ
low	ɛɛ	aa	ɔɔ

Short diphthongs[3]:

	front	back
high		ŭ
low	ĕ	ŏ

Long diphthongs:

	front	central	back
high	iə[4]	ɨə	uo
mid	ei[5]	əɨ	oa
low		aə, aɛ, ao	

The short central vowels /ɨ/, /ə/, and /a/ combine with /y/ and /w/ to yield /ɨy, ɨw, əy, əw, ay, aw/.[6]

When you listen to Cambodian, you will hear that before syllable-final /c/ or /ñ/ a vowel is followed by a non-contrastive /y/ glide, so that a word like ទួច /touc/ 'small' is actually pronounced something like [touyc].

P.3 Syllables

Every Cambodian syllable begins with a consonant or consonant cluster, has a nucleus, which consists of a vowel or diphthong, and may or may not end in a consonant. Any consonant may begin a syllable but only the following consonants may end a syllable:

p t c k ʔ
l h
m n ñ ŋ
w y

There are no syllable-final consonant clusters. The possible syllable initial clusters are treated in section P.1.2 above and in Table I. Note that many of these combinations do not occur in English.

The consonants w or y are not followed by another consonant in the same syllable. Short diphthongs occur only in closed syllables (syllables ending in a consonant), e.g. ពាក់ /pĕʔ/ 'to wear.'

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3. The transcription of the short diphthongs conceals the fact that they are really diphthongs /eĕ, uĕ, oĕ/ (the breve ˘ indicates that the diphthong is short) rather than short vowels.

4. In the transcription used in these materials, /iə/ is represented by ia (transcribing the script symbol ◌ា after a second series consonant) and by ie (transcribing the symbol ◌ៀ). Thus ចិញ /ciə/ is transcribed cia but រៀន /riən/ is transcribed rien, even though the vowels are the same.

5. In the dialect that this transcription represents there is no distinction between /ei/ and /ee/, so /ei/ does not appear in these materials. However, some Cambodians do have the distinction; if your instructor distinguishes between /ei/ and /ee/, follow his example.

6. The transcription used in these materials writes /w/ as w in /ɨw, əw, aw/, e.g. កៅអី /kaw?ɛy/ 'chair' but as v elsewhere, e.g. វែង /vɛəŋ/ 'long.'

P.4 Words

Most native Cambodian words consist of one or two syllables. However, the language has borrowed a great many words from Pali and Sanskrit, with the result that there are now many polysyllables, especially in literary and educated usage. In all cases, however, the main stress falls on the last syllable of the word: ប៉ិទ /bət/ 'to close' ទន្លេ /túnlee/ 'river,' មកា /me'keraa / 'January,' បច្ចុប្បន្នភាព /paccobonphiep / 'current events.' In polysyllables stressed and unstressed syllables alternate, e.g. ភោជនីយដ្ឋាន /phooceniyəthaan/ 'restaurant.'

In most compounds (words made up of two or more other words), each component keeps its stress pattern, e.g. ភាពយន្ត /phiepyún/ 'moving picture' or វិជ្ជាពេទ្យ /wiccia pɛɛt/ 'subject of medicine.'

P.5 Phrases

A phrase in Cambodian includes one or more words plus an intonation contour. The major types of intonation contour are the following:

P.5.1 Rising (Question) Intonation

a) In a confirmation (yes-no) question the intonation contour normally consists of a gradual rise in pitch until the last stressed syllable of the sentence, at which point it continues to rise more sharply over any following unstressed syllables.

តាត់ជាញូកម៉ាកលោក្ខប្ប?

kót cia puo? ma? look rih?

Is he your friend?

b) In an information (question-word) question, the contour rises until the last stressed syllable of the question word, after which it either gradually drops,

លោកជ្ជិបអ្នកណានៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?

look cuop né? naa niw konlaɛŋ niŋ ?

Whom did you meet at that place?

or continues to rise, as in

លោកជ្ជិបអ្នកណានៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?

look cuop ne? naa niw konlaɛŋ niŋ?

Whom did you meet at that place?

An information question with falling intonation has a peremptory connotation; rising intonation throughout an information question is more deferent and polite.

P.5.2 Falling Intonation

a) Normal statements are characterized by a slight pitch rise on the most heavily-stressed syllable of the clause followed by a drop throughout subsequent syllables.

ទេ, លោកសុខធ្វើការនៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង។

tee, look sok thəə kaa nɨw konlaɛŋ nɨŋ.

No, Mr. Sok works at that place.

b) Emphatic statements are characterized by a sharp drop on the most heavily-stressed syllable and low pitch thereafter.

លីសេសុសុវិត្ថិមិនមែនជាសាលាឯកជិនទេ។

lisee siisovat mɨn mɛɛn cɨa salaa aɛkəcún teh.

The Lyceé Sisowath is not a private school.

P.6 Formal and Casual Pronunciation

Like most other languages, Cambodian is spoken differently in formal and casual contexts. In a formal context, the pronunciation of each syllable is relatively careful; even unstressed syllables may be pronounced much as they are written. However, the more casual the circumstances, the more reduction is likely to take place in unstressed syllables, especially in the standard and Phnom Penh varieties, so that in some dialects all that may remain of an unstressed syllable is the initial consonant and a reduced vowel /ə/, e.g.

formal /sɔmŋat/	casual	/səŋat/	'secret'	សម្ងាត់
formal /prɔteeh/	casual	/pəteeh/	'country'	ប្រទេស

Internal glottal stop /ʔ/ is normally omitted in casual style, e.g.

formal /niʔyiey/	casual	/niyiey/	'to speak'	និយាយ

In addition some consonants change, for example:

formal /robuoh/	casual	/ləbuoh/	'wounded'	របួស
formal /bɔŋrien/	casual	/pərien/	'to teach'	បង្រៀន
formal /sɔɔsee/	casual	/təsee/	'to write'	សរសេរ
formal /kyɔl/	casual	/kcɔl/	'wind, breeze'	ខ្យល់
formal /tyuuŋ/	casual	/kcuuŋ/	'coal'	ធ្យូង

In none of these cases is the change regular; in fact only a relatively small number of words is affected, and they may be learned as they occur.

P.6.1 Unstressed Final Particles

Many of the normally unstressed function words are unstressed in casual speech, e.g.

formal		casual		
	/mɨn/		/m/	'not'
	/nɨŋ/		/nŋ, n, ŋ/	'will'
	/tɨw/		/tə/	'go and ...'
	/móok/		/mə/	'come and ...'
	/tee/		/eh/	(negative or interrogative final)
	/nah/		/ah/	'very'
	/naa/		/ə/	(emphatic)
	/haəy/		/əh/	'already'
	/rɨɨ, rɨɨ ɛy/		/ɨh/[7]	(interrogative final)
	/nɨw/		/ɨw/	'yet'
	/tɨw/		/təh/	(imperative)

The reduced forms of the sentence-final particles /tee, nah, haəy, nɨw, rɨɨ/ break the rule that all syllables begin with at least one consonant (cf. P.3 above), since these reduced forms begin with vowels (/eh, ah, əh, ɨw, ɨh/). In combination with a preceding word which ends in a consonant, the following occur:

1. If the consonant preceding the particle is a continuant (m, n, ñ, ŋ, l, w, y, h), the continuant is lengthened, e.g.

   formal /mɨn mɛɛn tee/ casual /m mɛɛnneh/ 'it's not true'

   formal /mɨn trəw tee/ casual /m trəwweh/ 'it's not correct'

2. If the consonant is a stop, there are two possibilities:

   a) the final consonant joins the syllable of the particle, e.g.

      formal /mɨn prakɔt tee/ casual /m pəkɔ teh/ 'not sure'

   b) or the final consonant remains with its original syllable and the particle begins with a nasal consonant which is homorganic to the

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7. /rɨɨ/ may be dropped altogether, leaving a trace only in the intonation of the sentence, e.g.

   formal: look roɔ́? kʰñom rɨɨ?
   casual: look roo? khñom ? Are you looking for me?

preceding consonant, according to the rules given below in P.6.2, for example:

formal /mɨn prakɔt tee/ casual /m pɛkɔt nɛh/ 'not sure'

formal /s?ɔp rɨɨ/ casual /s?ɔp mɨh/ 'do you hate (him)?'

c) If the preceding word ends with a vowel, the sentence will end with a sequence of vowels, providing an exception to the rule that a syllable must begin with a consonant, e.g.:

formal /khñom thvəə haəy/ casual /khñom theəəh/ 'I've done it already'

d) If there is a sequence of final particles, e.g. តើណាស់ទៀតឬ?

/thom nah haəy rɨɨ/ 'Is (he) big already?'

the casual form will end in a sequence of reduced particles, except for /rɨɨ/, which is set off by a glottal stop: /thommah əh ?ɨh/

In most of the dialogues and drills in the first 60 lessons of the course, the transcription represents a quite casual level of speech. A few words which are not in every day use are transcribed formally, e.g. ប្រតិកម្ម /prɔtɛ? kam/ 'reaction.' In a few cases the transcription is more formal, using /tee/ for /eh/ etc.

P.6.2 Nasal Enclitics

In reciting and singing, most Cambodians automatically add a meaningless homorganic nasal enclitic to the last syllable in a phrase or clause if it:

1) precedes a pause
2) ends in a voiceless consonant (/p, t, c, k, ?, h/)[8]
3) is stressed.

In this case the nasal is one of the following:

after /p/	it is /m/,	e.g. /sdap - m/	'to listen'
/t/	it is /n/	/kat - n/	'to cut'
/c/	it is /ñ/	/ntec - ñ/	'a little bit'
/k/	it is /ŋ/	/s?aɛk - ŋ/	'tomorrow'
/?/	it is /ŋ/	/pibaa? - ŋ/	'difficult'
/h/	it is /ŋ/	/cah - ŋ/	'old'

8. Remember, /s/ does not occur at the end of a syllable.

In Phnom Penh speech this feature appears in casual usage as well. It occurs in a pre-pausal stressed syllable ending in a voiceless consonant, if the sentence has normal statement intonation. In no case does this nasal enclitic affect the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.

SYNTAX

S.1 Introduction

Like utterances in most other languages, Cambodian utterances can be analyzed into sentences, especially in formal speech. A sentence consists of one or more clauses; a clause consists of one or more phrases, and a phrase consists of one or more words. A word is a meaningful unit that can stand in isolation.

There are several types of clause but only one which can be classed as the major type. This type consists of an optional topic, an optional subject, and an obligatory predicate, plus various adverbials and particles. The topic and subject usually consist of noun phrases; the predicate usually includes a verb phrase, which in turn is frequently followed by a noun phrase serving as object or attribute to the verb.

S.2 Phrases

The two major types of phrase are noun phrases and verb phrases. A noun phrase is one which is headed by a nominal; a verb phrase is headed by a verb. The head of the phrase is the word that the other parts of the phrase modify.

S.2.1 Noun Phrases

The Cambodian noun phrase involves two important constructions: attribution and numeration.

S.2.1.1 Attribution

In nominal attribution the head is followed by the modifier (attribute). The attribute may be:

1. a verb
   a. an action verb: ផ្លូវដើរ /phlɨw daə/ 'a road for walking' (from ផ្លូវ /phlɨw/ 'road, path' and ដើរ /daə/ 'to walk').
2. a noun ផ្លូវឡាន /phlɨw laan/ 'a road for cars' (from ផ្លូវ /phlɨw/ 'road' and ឡាន /laan/ 'car, automobile').
3. an indefinite or question word ផ្លូវណា /phlɨw naa/ 'which road?' (from

ផ្លូវ /phlɨw/ 'road' and ណា /naa/ 'which, any').

4. a phrase ផ្លូវដែកដឹកទំនិញ /phlɨw dɛk tumniñ/ 'road for transporting goods' (from ដឹក /dɛk/ 'to transport, lead' and ទំនិញ/tumniñ/ 'merchandise').

5. a clause ផ្លូវ(ដែល)គេកំពុងធ្វើ /phlɨw (daɛl)[1] kee kampuŋ thəə/ 'the road (that) they are building.' Note that a relative clause may or may not be introduced by ដែល /daɛl/ 'which, that.' The version with ដែល is slightly more formal but nevertheless widely used in spoken usage.

Note that possession is expressed either by simple attribution, e.g. ផ្ទះខ្ញុំ /phtéh khñom/ 'my house' (ផ្ទះ /phtéh/ 'house' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I, me, my') or by a phrase including the word របស់ /rəbɔh/ 'property of, belonging to,' e.g. ផ្ទះរបស់ខ្ញុំ /phtéh rəbɔh khñom/ 'my house' (the house belonging to me).

There are some words indicating quantities which are used before the noun they modify, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃ/sɔp thŋay/ 'every day' (សព្វ /sɔp/ 'every' ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day'). These words include:

គ្រប់	/krup/	'all, each, every'
គ្រប់ៗ	/krup krup/	'all'
គ្រប់សព្វ	/krup sɔp/	'all'
តែ	/taɛ/	'only, just'
តាំង	/téŋ/	'all of'
តាំងអស់	/téŋ ɔh/	'all of, all'
ពេញ	/piñ/	'all of, to the full extent of'
រាល់	/rɔl/	'every' (with time words)
សព្វ	/sɔp/	'all'
សព្វគ្រប់	/sɔp krup/	'all'
អស់	/ɔh/	'all'

1. Parentheses indicate an optional element in Cambodian.

S.2.1.2 Numeration

In English we divide most common nouns into 'count nouns,' which we see as individual items, e.g. books, pencils, shirts, and into 'mass-nouns,' which we see as aggregates that can only be counted by means of measures or as different types, e.g. 'a pound of sugar, three kinds of sugar.' For mass nouns in English we quantify by a construction which consists of a number, a measure, and a noun, e.g. 'three bags of rice' or 'a glass of water.' There are also a few count nouns which can occur in this kind of construction, e.g. 'a pair of shoes.'

However, in Cambodian the mass-count distinction means much less, since there are many more nouns in Cambodian than in English that are regarded as in some sense mass unless otherwise specified. It is the numeration construction which so specifies. In numeration, which is a special kind of attribution, the word order is noun, number, classifier, e.g. បងពីរនាក់ /bɔɔŋ pii nɛ́ʔ/ 'two older siblings' in which the noun is បង /bɔɔŋ/ 'older sibling,' the number is ពីរ /pii/ 'two' and the classifier is នាក់ /nɛ́ʔ/ 'person.'

The classifier corresponds to the English measure but has a wider distribution. While it is true that some measures occur in classifier position, e.g. សាច់ពីរគីឡូ /sac pii kiilou/'two kilos of meat' សាច់/sac/'meat' ពីរ /pii/'two' គីឡូ /kiilou/'kilo'), many classifiers are not measures. Nouns are members of semantically determined classes, each of which is characterized by a certain nominal that serves as classifier. Thus, for instance, the classifier នាក/nɛ́ʔ/ is used with ordinary people; រដាប/daəm/ is used with sticklike objects like pencils, trees, and rifles; and ក្បាល/kbaal/'head' is used with livestock and books. These classes are not mutually exclusive; for instance one may talk of a train in two ways;

រថភ្លើងមួយរៀគ្រឿង	/rotɛh phləəŋ muoy krɨəŋ/ 'one train'
រថភ្លើងមួយខ្សែ	/rotɛh phləəŋ muoy khsaɛ/ 'one train'

In the first case attention is focussed on the locomotive, since រៀគ្រឿង /krɨəŋ/ is the classifier normally used for engines and machines. In the second case the train is viewed as a whole, including engine and cars, since ខ្សែ /khsaɛ/ refers to strings and wires and long, stringlike objects.

In addition, of course, there are also measures and nouns specifying types that are used in classifier position, e.g. (ស្រាមួយដិប /sraa muoy dɔɔp/ 'one bottle of liquor,' ស្រា /sraa/ 'liquor' មួយ /muoy/ 'one' ដិប /dɔɔp/ 'bottle') or ម្ហូបបីមុខ /məhoup bɛy muk/ 'three kinds of food' (ម្ហូប /məhoup/ 'food' បី /bɛy/ 'three' មុខ /muk/ 'kind, type').

Nouns indicating units of time are also classifiers, e.g. ខ្ញុំទៅអស់ពេលពីរថ្ងៃ /khñom tɨw ɔh peel pii thŋay/ 'I went for two days' (ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' អស់ /ɔh/ 'to exhaust, use up' ពេល /peel/ 'time' ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day').

Nouns which are most commonly encountered as classifiers are:

កញ្ជាល	/kbaal/	copies of books, volumes; livestock
ខ្នង	/knɔɔŋ/	houses
គូ	/kuu/	pairs of things
គ្រាប់	/krɔ̆p/	pellets, grains, tablets, bullets
ខ្សែក្រឿង	/krɨəŋ/	machinery
ច្បាប់	/cbap/	copies of pamphlets, newspapers, magazines
ដងវែង	/daɛm/	long, thin, sticklick objects
ដុំ	/dom/	pieces and lumps
ទួ	/tuo/	letters of the alphabet, vehicle bodies, characters in a play
នាក់	/nĕʔ/	ordinary people
ប្រដាប់	/prɔdap/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
ផ្ទាំង	/phaɛn/	disks
ម៉ាត់	/mat/	words, utterances, mouthfuls
រូប	/ruup/	pictures, shapes, forms, images, persons
សន្លឹក	/sɔnlɛk/	sheets of paper, leaves
សម្រាប់	/sɔmrap/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
អង្គ	/ɔŋ/	monks, exalted people, images of Buddha

Before a classifier the number មួយ /muoy/ 'one' is reduced to /mə/ in normal speech, e.g. ស្រាមួយដប /sraa mədɔɔp/ 'one bottle of liquor.' Other numbers are not affected.

In normal casual speech classifiers are omitted, except for នាក់ /nĕʔ/ 'person.' For some nouns, e.g. rooms and furniture, classifiers are almost never used. Use of classifiers is a signal of formal style; classifiers occur far more often in writing than in speech.

S.2.1.3 Word Order in the Noun Phrase

In contrast with the English noun phrase, in which the order of elements is fixed, there is considerable freedom in the Cambodian noun phrase. The primary restrictions on the Cambodian noun phrase are the following:

1. The demonstrative ('this, that') is normally the last element in a noun phrase, e.g. ខ្មៅទាំងពីរនេះ /khmaw day khñom pii nih/ 'these two pencils of mine' (ខ្មៅទាំង /khmaw day/ 'pencil' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' ពីរ /pii/ 'two' នេះ /nih/ 'this'). Note that a phrase containing របស់ /reboh/ 'property of' may either precede or follow the demonstrative, e.g.
ខ្មៅទាំងពីរនេះរបស់ខ្ញុំ /khmaw day pii nih reboh khñom/
ខ្មៅទាំងរបស់ខ្ញុំពីរនេះ /khmaw day pii reboh khñom nih/
both of which mean 'these two pencils of mine.'

2. A pronoun in a noun phrase may not follow the number unless it occurs in the phrase របស់ /reboh/ 'belonging to' plus pronoun, e.g.
/khmaw day pii nih reboh khñom/ 'these two pencils of mine.'

3. Normally, but not necessarily, adjectives precede the number,[2] e.g. ខ្មៅទាំងធំៗលឿងពីរនេះ/khmaw day thom lɨəŋ pii nih/ 'these two large yellow pencils' (ធំ /thom/ 'large' លឿង /lɨəŋ/ 'yellow'). There is no restriction on the order of adjectives: លឿងធំ /lɨəŋ thom/ 'yellow, big' is as acceptable as ធំលឿង /thom lɨəŋ/ 'big, yellow.'

1.2.2 Verb Phrases

The main type of construction in verb phrases in Cambodian is attribution. Verbal attributes occur following the main verb of a predicate or preceding it.

1.2.2.1 Postverbal Attribution

Attributes which follow a verb may be:

1. a verb

   a. an action verb, e.g. និយាយលេងលង/niyiey leeŋ/ 'to joke, to say in fun' (និយាយ /niyiey/ 'to speak' លង/leeŋ/ 'to play') or ស្រួលធ្វើ /sruol thee/ 'easy to do' (ស្រួល/sruol/ 'easy' ធ្វើ /thee/ 'to make, to do').

   b. an adjective (stative verb), e.g. និយាយច្បាស់ /niyiey cbah/ 'speak clearly' (ច្បាស់ /cbah/ 'to be clear').

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[2] When the number is followed by a classifier the adjectives must precede the number.

2. a noun, e.g. និយាយវិប្បវចី /niyiey voppəthóa/ 'talk using elevated style' (វិប្បវចី /voppəthóa/ 'culture').

It may be that the object of a verb can be considered an attribute also. In this case, in normal discourse a nominal attribute immediately follows the verb and is then followed by other modifiers, e.g. គាត់និយាយខ្មែរញ៉ាប់ /via niyiey khmaɛ ñóp/ 'he speaks Cambodian fast' (គាត់ /via/ 'he, she, it, they,' ខ្មែរ /khmaɛ/ 'Cambodian' ញ៉ាប់ /ñóp/ 'rapidly'). Such an analysis would treat លាងដៃ /liaŋ day/ 'wash ones hands' (លាង /liaŋ/ 'to wash' ដៃ /day/ 'hand, arm') as the same kind of construction as ស្រួលខ្លួន /sruol khluon/ 'well, healthy' (ស្រួល /sruol/ 'easy, comfortable' ខ្លួន /khluon/ 'body'). If objects are treated as attributes of verbs, when there are two nominal attributes, the object is first, e.g. មើលភាពយន្តយប់ /meel kon yup/ 'to watch movies at night' (មើល /meel/ 'to look at' ភាពយន្ត /kon/ 'movie' យប់ /yup/ 'night').

When the verb occurs with an indirect object, e.g. ឲ្យ /aoy/ 'to give,' the situation is more complex. Here the order is:

ឲ្យ plus direct object plus indirect object plus quantifier, e.g. ឲ្យលុយខ្ញុំពីរ រៀល /aoy luy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels' (more literally: give me money to the extent of two riels'). (លុយ/luy/ 'money').

If any portion of this is deleted, the order of the remaining components remains the same. For example, if the direct object លុយ /luy/ 'money' is deleted, the resulting sequence is ឲ្យខ្ញុំពីរ រៀល /aoy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels,' but if the quantifier ពីរ រៀល /pii riel/ 'two riels' is deleted, the sequence is ឲ្យលុយខ្ញុំ /aoy luy khñom/ 'give me money.' You will have to be very careful with this construction, since your habit in English is to put a pronominal indirect object first, as you can see in the translations of the above examples, in which 'me' always follows the verb and precedes the direct object. In Cambodian the indirect object follows the verb only if the direct object has been deleted.

3. an indefinite, e.g. និយាយម៉េច /niyiey mec/ 'how is it said?' (ម៉េច /mec/ 'how, why').
4. an adverbial, e.g. និយាយធម្មតា /niyiey thommədaa/ 'to speak in an ordinary way' (ធម្មតា /thommədaa/ 'ordinarily').
5. a phrase, e.g. និយាយញ៉ាប់ជាងគេ /niyiey ñóp ciaŋ kee/ 'to speak fastest of all' (ញ៉ាប់ /ñóp/ 'rapid' ជាង /ciaŋ/ '(more) than' /kee/ 'they').

6. a clause, e.g. និយាយតាមគាត់បង្គាប់ /niyiey taam kɔ̂t bɔŋkɔ̂p/ 'to speak according to (how) he ordered' (តាម /taam/ 'according to, (following)' គាត់ /kɔ̂t/ 'he, she, they' បង្គាប់ /bɔŋkɔ̂p/ 'to order').

S.2.2.2 Preverbal Attribution

In preverbal attribution, a main verb may be modified by:

1. a verbal auxiliary (treated in greater detail at V.2.1), e.g. ត្រូវ /trɑw/ 'must.'
2. an adverb
   a. a negator, e.g. មិននិយាយ /mɨn niyiey/ 'didn't speak' (មិន /mɨn/ 'not').
   b. a preverbal adverb, e.g. ឆេះតែនិយាយ /cɛh tae niyiey/ 'always speaks' (ឆេះតែ /cɛh tae/ 'always').
3. a verbal
   a. an adjective, e.g. រវល់និយាយ /rəvŭl niyiey/ 'busy talking' (រវល់ /rəvŭl/ 'busy')
   b. an action verb, e.g. គិតនិយាយ /kɨt niyiey/ 'to plan, to speak' (គិត /kɨt/ 'to think, to plan').

S.2.2.3 Two-Part Verbs

There are two types of two-part verb construction: resultative verbs and verbs followed by an attributive motion verb.

S.2.2.3.1 Resultative Verbs

A very frequent attribution pattern in Cambodian is to follow a main verb by another which describes its possibility, its state of completion, or its result, e.g. មើលដាច់ /mœl dac/ 'to be able to read, to have read, to have read' (មើល /mœl/ 'to look at, to read' ដាច់ /dac/ 'to break apart').

This is not an ordinary case of a verb modifying a verb as described above in S.2.2.1, since in the case of an ordinary verb negation precedes the main verb, e.g. មិននិយាយលេង /mɨn niyiey leeŋ/ 'to not say in fun' (មិន /mɨn/ 'not' និយាយ /niyiey/ 'to speak' លេង /leeŋ/ 'to play'). However, in the case of a resultative verb, the negator

precedes the second verb, e.g. មើលមិនដាច់ /məəl mɨn dac/ 'to be unable to read.'

Verbs which commonly occur in the second position in a resultative verb are:

1. ខាន /khaan/ 'to fail,' e.g. មកមិនខាន/moɔ́ mɨn khaan/ 'will certainly come' (មក /moɔ́/ 'to come'). ខាន /khaan/ is generally used with a negative.
2. រឃីញ /khəəñ/ 'to see, catch sight of,' e.g. រកឃីញ /roɔ́ʔ khəəñ/ 'to find' (រក /roɔ́ʔ/ 'to look for').
3. ចប់ /cɔp/ 'to finish' e.g. រៀនចប់ /rien cɔp/ 'to finish studying' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
4. ចូល /coul/ 'to enter, go in; can' រៀនមិនចូល /rien mɨn coul/ 'can't learn' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
5. រចញ /ceñ/ 'to go out,' e.g. គិតមិនរចញ /kɨt mɨn ceñ/ 'can't think of anything' (គិត /kɨt/ 'to think').
6. រចះ /cɛh/ 'to know (how to)' e.g. រៀនមិនរចះ /rien mɨn cɛh/ 'to study without learning' (រៀន /rien/ 'to study').
7. a. ដាប់ /cɔ́p/ 'to stick; to win an election, to pass a test' e.g. ប្រឡងដាប់ /prɔlɔɔŋ cɔ́p/ 'to pass a test' (ប្រឡង/prɔlɔɔŋ/ 'to take a test'). The opposite of ប្រឡងដាប់ is ប្រឡងធ្លាក់ /prɔlɔɔŋ thlɛ́ʔ/ 'to fail a test' (ធ្លាក់ /thlɛ́ʔ/ 'to fall').
   b. ដាច់ /dac/ 'to break apart' e.g. មើលដាច់ /məəl dac/ 'to be able to read' (មើល /məəl/ 'to read, to look at').
8. ទាន់ /tɔ́n/ 'to catch up with, to be on time' e.g. ដើរមិនទាន់គាត់ /daə mɨn tɔ́n kɔ́t/ 'to walk but be unable to catch up with him' (ដើរ /daə/ 'to walk' គាត់ /kɔ́t/ 'he, she, they').
9. ធុំ /thum/ 'to smell' ហិតមិនធុំ /hət mɨn thum/ 'to be unable to smell' (ហិត /hət/ 'to sniff').
10. ធ្លាក់ /thlɛ́ʔ/ 'to fall' រុញធ្លាក់ /ruñ thlɛ́ʔ/ 'to push (it) off' (រុញ /ruñ/ 'to push').
11. ឌាន /baan/
    a. 'can, to be able' e.g. ប្រើឌាន /praə baan/ 'can use (ប្រើ /praə/ 'to use')

b. 'to get, acquire' e.g. ជាញ់មិនជានអ្វី /bañ mɨn baan ɛy/ 'went hunting and didn't get anything' (ជាញ់ /bañ/ 'to shoot' អ្វី /ɛy/ 'anything'). When ជាន /baan/ has this meaning it is normally used with an object.

12. ផ្ទិត /phot/ 'to get free of, clear of' ដើរផ្ទិត /daə phot/ 'to walk clear of' (ដើរ /daə/ 'to walk').

13. រួច /ruoc/ 'to finish' ធ្វើរួច /thəə ruoc/ 'to finish doing' (ធ្វើ /thəə/ 'to do, to make').

14. លក់ /lúʔ/ 'to fall asleep,' e.g. ដេកលក់ /deek lúʔ/ 'to sleep soundly' (ដេក /deek/ 'to lie down, go to sleep, to sleep').

15. ស្រស្រច /srac/ 'to be ready, finished' ធ្វើស្រស្រច /thəə srac/ 'to have done already.'

16. ញ /lɨɨ/ 'to hear,' e.g. ស្តាប់មិនញ /sdap mɨn lii/ 'can't hear' (ស្តាប់ /sdap/ 'to listen').

S.2.2.3.2 Attributive Motion Verbs

In many cases an action verb may be followed by an attributive motion verb from the following list:

ទៅ	/tɨw/	'go (away from speaker)'
ចញ	/ceñ/	'to go out'
ឡើង	/laəŋ/	'to ascend'
មក	/mɔ́o/	'come'
ចូល	/coul/	'to enter'
ចុះ	/coh/	'to descend'

In some cases the attributive motion verb simply adds its meaning, e.g. អរញ្ជើញចូលមក /əñcəəñ coul mɔ́o/ 'please come in' (អរញ្ជើញ /əñcəəñ/ 'please; to invite'). In this example ចូល /coul/ 'enter' is the main verb and មក /mɔ́o/ 'come' is the attribute.

In some other cases the combination of verbs is idiomatic; that is, the whole is different from the sum of the parts. An example of such an idiom is ឆាប់ឡើង /chap laəŋ/ 'hurry up' (ឆាប់ /chap/ 'quick'). It happens that this idiom corresponds almost word for word to its English translation, but remember that in English 'hurry up' is an idiom too.

The motion verbs ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' and ចុះ /coh/ 'to descend' have also been frozen as imperative particles, e.g. និយាយចុះ /niyiey coh/ 'go ahead and say (it).' ទៅ /tɨw/ marks a command, e.g. មើលៅ /məəl tɨw/ 'read it;' ចុះ /coh/ usually has a connotation of giving permission. In time expressions /mɔ́o/ 'to come' gives a meaning of 'approaching the present from the past,' e.g. ទ្រកាយមក /kraoy mɔ́o/ 'later on (in the past),' while ទៅ /tɨw/ 'to go' gives a sense of extension into the future,[3] e.g. គេនឹងធ្វើអញ្ចឹងទៅ /kee nɨŋ thəə əñcəŋ tɨw/ 'they'll (go on) doing like that' (គេ /kee/ 'he, she, they' នឹង /nɨŋ/ 'will' ធ្វើ /thəə/ 'to do' អញ្ចឹង /əñcəŋ/ 'like that, thus').

S.2.2.4 Preverbal Word Order in the Verb Phrase

Normal preverbal word order in a verb phrase with only one main verb is:

	preverbal adverb +	negator +	auxiliary +	attributive verb +	main verb
គាត់	ចេះតែ	មិន	ចង់	ចាប់	រៀន
kɔ́t	cɛh taɛ	mɨn	cɔŋ	cap	rien
he	always	not	want	start	to study

'He never wants to start studying.'

Deletion of any of these elements does not affect the order; e.g. if មិន /mɨn/ 'not' is deleted, the sentence above is:

គាត់ចេះតែចង់ចាប់រៀន។
kɔ́t cɛhtaɛ cɔŋ cap rien
He always wants to start studying.

In literary style a preverbal adverb or auxiliary may occur before the subject, e.g.

ត្រូវវាមកស្អែក។
trəw via mɔ́o sʔaɛk
must he come tomorrow
He must come tomorrow.

3. The word 'future' here is relative to a time indicated in the context, not necessarily to the time following the utterance.

This sentence is a literary variation of the more commonly used វាត្រូវមកវស្សក /via trəw mɔ́o s'aɛk/ 'He must come tomorrow.'

In many cases there is more than one main verb, either because a set of coordinate events is described without coordinating relators or because a sequence of events is described by a sequence of verbs. An example of the first type is:

រុញ្ញ ទាញ្ញ ក្រវិវិង ក្រវាត់ វាយ វាត់ វាត់ វាយ ឲយ រលាយ ពីលើដីនឹម

ruñ tieñ krɔveeŋ-krɔvɔ́t viey-vɔ́t rɔ́t-riey aoy roliey pii lɨɨ phaɛndɛy

push pull jerk-across jerk-back hit jerk back-to whip break-up-cause melt from on earth.

Push them, pull them, jerk them back and forth, so they will disappear from the face of the earth.

In this example there are eight coordinate verbs (from រុញ /ruñ/ to វាយ /riey/) and two verbs in construction: ឲយ /aoy/ 'to give; cause' and រលាយ /roliey/ 'to melt.' Thus there are ten verbs stacked up, and to sort them out you need to know about Cambodian structure.

An example of the second type, in which the verbs appear in the sequence in which the actions they describe occur is the following:

គេហានដល់ទៅចូលមកបំផ្លាញ ឲយ ឆាប់ អស់យន្តហោះយើង។

kee hian dɔl tɨw coul mɔ́o bɔmphlañ aoy chap ɔh yúnhɔh yeeŋ

they dare arrive go enter come destroy cause quick exhaust airplane we

they dared to arrive, enter, and quickly destroy all our airplanes.

In this example there are nine verbs, all in sequence. Note that they cannot all be translated into English.

This kind of construction may not seem so strange to you if you think of a construction like:

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which is perfectly acceptable English. Here there are eight nouns coming one after another. It happens that Cambodian does not stack nouns up like this, and English does not stack up verbs. But in both cases an elementary knowledge of grammar is sufficient to permit the learner to sort out the structure.

S.3 Clauses

In English most clauses have the structure subject-verb-object, with the possibility of an added topic before the subject, e.g. 'John, we saw him yesterday.' The majority of Cambodian clauses also have this structure (optional components in parentheses):

(topic) + (subject) + verb[4] + (object)

as well as assorted adverbials and auxiliaries discussed in detail elsewhere. An example of a clause with all the major components is:

កាសែតនេះកេលក់ជ្រើនច្បាប់។
kasaɛt nih kee lúʔ craɐn cbap
newspaper this they sell many copy
This newspaper, they sell many copies.

If the topic has the same referent as another nominal in the clause, that nominal is either omitted, e.g.

ពួកនោះខ្ញុំស្អប់ណាស់។ (object omitted)
puoʔ nuh khñom sʔop nah
group that I hate very
I really hate that bunch.

or else a pronoun replaces it:

ម្តាយខ្ញុំគាត់ស្លាប់ទៅយូរហើយ។ (pronoun subject)
mɐdaay khñom kót slap tɨw yuu haɐy
mother my she die (to) long-time already
My mother, she died a long time ago.

Dependent clauses also have this word order but do not usually include a topic. Attributive clauses are introduced either by ដែល /daɛl/'which, that' or by no word at all (cf. S.2.1.1.5), e.g.

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4. Note that in the case of certain predicate nominative constructions, e.g. ថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃចន្ទ /thŋay nih thŋay can/'today is Monday' (ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/'day' ថ្ងៃចន្ទ /thŋay can/ 'Monday') the copula may be realized by ø; that is, the spoken or written sentence will have no verb.

សិស្ស(ដែល)ចេះខ្មែរមិនចាំបាច់រៀនទៀត ។

seh (dael) cəh khmae mɨn bac rien tiet

student (who) know Cambodian not-need study further

Students who know Cambodian need not study any more.

The word ដែល /dael/ also means 'the one(s) that, 'e.g.

ដែលត្រូវការយើងយកទាំង ។

dael yeeŋ trəw-kaa yeeŋ yóo tiw

ones-that we need we take to

The ones we need we'll take along.

In this position ដែលis obligatory; to omit it takes away the meaning of the sentence.

Another use for ដែល is in a predicate nominative type of construction in which there is no verb, e.g.

រឿងនោះ(ហើយ)ដែលខ្ញុំឮនៅផ្ទះគេ ។

rɨəŋ nóh (haəy) dael khñom lɨɨ nɨw phtəh kee

story that (already) that I hear at house he/they

It was that story that I heard at his house.

This construction is particularly characteristic of literary style.

Adverbial clauses are introduced by appropriate clause relators. The most general of these is ដោយ /daoy/, which indicates that the action in the clause it introduces is a contributing factor to the action of the clause to which it is related, e.g.

គេដាក់ទោសគាត់ដោយឲ្យធ្វើបាបគ្រូ ។

kee da?-tooh via daoy via thee-baap kruu

they punish him given-that he mistreat teacher

They punished him for giving the teacher a hard time.

Other, more specific, clause relators, e.g. កាល /kaal/ 'when' or ព្រោះ /prɔh/ 'because,' are treated below at R.3.2.

Clauses which are embedded in other clauses as indirect discourse or as indirect

questions maintain the usual word order, e.g.

ទាវឆ្លើយថាម្តាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន។
via chlaəy thaa mdaay mɨn-tɔ́n sruol-khluon

he answer that mother not-yet well

He answered that his mother was not yet feeling well.

Here the embedded clause is ម្តាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay mɨn tɔ́n sruol khluon/ '(His) mother is not yet feeling well.' When it is embedded it undergoes no change at all. In line with this absence of effect on the embedded clause, a topic can occur in the embedded clause with complete freedom. Thus, for instance, the embedded clause of the above example could as easily be ម្តាយទា, គាត់មិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay via, kɔ́t mɨn tɔ́n sruol khluon/ 'His mother, she's not well yet.'

S.4 Sentences

A sentence consists of at least one clause. A sentence may be positive, negative, or interrogative. Characteristic of sentence level constructions are the indefinites, a group of words which are treated at the end of this section.

S.4.1 Sentence Composition

Clauses are combined into sentences by coordination, subordination, and embedding.

S.4.1.1 Coordination

Coordination of clauses is accomplished either by placing the coordinated clauses next to one another (parataxis) or by use of a clause relator.

An example of parataxis is:

ខ្យល់បក់ ស្លឹកឈើធ្លាក់។
khyɔl bɔʔ slək chəə thléʔ

wind blow leaf tree fall

(when) the wind blows, the leaves fall.[5]

Only intonation and a slight pause indicate the boundary between the two clauses.

5. This first clause could also be subordinate in some contexts-cf. S.4.1.2.

There is a set of clause relators the members of which coordinate clauses (cf. R.3.1). The most important of those are ហើយ /haəy/ 'and,' ឬ /rɨɨ/ 'or,' ប៉ុន្តែ /pontaɛ/ or តែ /taɛ/ 'but,' and គឺ /kɨɨ/ 'that is to say.' For example:

ខ្ញុំធ្វើការ ហើយខ្ញុំសំអាតផ្ទះ។

via thəə baay haəy khñom sɑm?aat phteh

he make rice and I clean house

He cooks and I clean house.

S.4.1.2 Subordination

For the most part subordination is accomplished by a member of the set of clause relators treated below at R.3.2, e.g. ព្រោះ /prŭh/ 'because' or បើ /baə/ 'if.'

បើខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំទៅ

baə khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

if I have money I go

If I have money, I'll go.

Adjacent clauses may form a sentence that can be translated into English with a subordinating conjunction; however the exact relation between the clauses can be determined only from context.

ខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំទៅ

khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

I have money I go

If I have money, I'll go. (or 'When I have money,' or 'Because I have money.').

S.4.1.3 Embedding

Embedding occurs most frequently in relative clauses and indirect discourse. Relative clauses (cf. S.3 above) may be introduced by the word ដែល /daɛl/ but often are not. In indirect discourse the embedded phrase or clause is usually introduced by ថា /thaa/, which literally means 'to say' but before an indirect statement or question means 'that;' e.g.

គេប្រាប់ថាគាត់មកហើយ។

kee prap thaa kŏt mŏo haey

they tell that he come already

They told (me) he's come already.

The word ថា /thaa/ 'that' also precedes direct quotations, so that the above example could be translated 'they told (me) "He's come already." ' With ដឹង /deŋ/ 'to know (a fact)' under certain circumstances ជា /cia/ is used instead of ថា /thaa/. Specifically, ជា /cia/ is used when the embedded clause has no subject and indicates that ដឹង /deŋ/ is negative, e.g.

ខ្ញុំដឹងជារកឬមិនរកទេ។

khñom deŋ cia tɨw rɨ̆ɨ mɨn tɨw tee

I know that go or not go (negation)

I don't know whether (he's) going.

In a positive sentence of this sort ជា /cia/ is not used; in a negative sentence either ជា /cia/ or ថា /thaa may occur, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងជារកឬមិនរកទេ។

khñom mɨn deŋ cia tɨw rɨ̆ɨ mɨn tɨw tee
thaa

I not know that go or not go (negation)

I don't know if (he's) going or not.

If ថា /thaa/ is used in a negative sentence, a negator, e.g. មិន /mɨn/ 'not,' must precede ដឹង /deŋ/; if ជា /cia/ is used, the negator is optional. When the embedded clause contains a subject, ដឹង /deŋ/ must be followed by ថា /thaa/ whether positive or negative, e.g.

ខ្ញុំ(មិន)ដឹងថាវារកឬមិនរកទេ។

khñom (mɨn) deŋ thaa via tɨw rɨ̆ɨ mɨn tɨw tee

I (not) know that he go or not go (negation)

I (don't) know whether he's going or not.

Both ថា /thaa/ and ជា /cia/ may be omitted.

S.4.2 Sentence Types

Other than the ordinary positive type of sentence there are negative and interrogative sentences, much as in English.

S.4.2.1 Negative Sentences

Negation is accomplished by means of a negator particle (cf. A.2) ពុំ /pum/, មិន /mɨn/, or ឥត /ɔt/ occurring before the main verb (cf. S.2.2.4 for a description of the position of the negator in the clause). More frequently than not at the end of the clause the final particle ទៃ /tee/ is used, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ។
khñom mɨn dəŋ tee.
I not know (negation)
I don't know.

In the case of indirect discourse, ទៃ /tee/ may either precede the embedded clause, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេថាវាមក។
khñom mɨn dəŋ tee thaa via mɔ́o
I not know (negation) that he come
I didn't know he was coming.

or follows it:

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងថាវាមកទេ។
khñom mɨn dəŋ thaa via mɔ́o tee.
I didn't know he was coming.

Other negator words which can also be used with /tee/ are មិនទាន់ /mɨn tɔ́n/ 'not yet,' មិនដែលៃ/mɨn daɛl/ 'have never' and មិនបាច់/mɨn bac/ 'need not.' In all cases ពុំ /pum/ or ឥត /ɔt/ can be substituted for មិន /mɨn/.

S.4.2.2 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogation is a somewhat more complex matter in Cambodian than is negation. There are basically two types of interrogation: alternation questions and information questions. Any question, whether direct or indirect, alternation or information, may be

preceded by the particle នែ /tae/, which announces that a question follows, e.g.

នែគាត់ដឹងទេ?	or ខ្ញុំសួរថានែគាត់ដឹងទេ។
tae via deŋ tee	khñom suo (thaa) tae via deŋ tee
question he know (negation)	I ask (that) (question) he know (negation)
Does he know?	I asked if he knows.

នែ /tae/ is never obligatory; it is used mostly in formal discourse.

S.4.2.2.1 Alternation Questions

An alternation question is asked by coordinating two alternatives by the clause relator ឬ /rɨ̆ɨ/ 'or,' e.g.

លោកអានមើលឬស្តាប់?
look meel rɨ̆ɨ sdap
sir read or listen
Are you reading or listening?

A special case of an alternation question is the kind that asks 'yes or no?', e.g.

លោកអានមើលឬមិនអានមើល?
look meel rɨ̆ɨ mɨn meel tee
sir read or not read (negation)
Are you reading or aren't you?

This sentence may be reduced to:

លោកអានមើលឬទេ?
look meel rɨ̆ɨ tee
are you reading or not?

with no meaning change, and still further reduced to:

លោកអានមើលទេ?
look meel tee
Are you reading?

This last is the normal form of a confirmation (yes-no) question; that is, the normal affirmative clause is followed by /tee/ and has rising intonation. Another reduction of

ឬទេ /rɨɨ tee/ is to ឬ /rɨɨ/. This also asks a confirmation question (cf. A.3.4g), e.g.

គេចេះធ្វើឬ?

kee cɛh thəə rɨɨ?

they know-how do or

Do they know how to do it?

ឬ in this usage can also be a reduction of ឬអ្វី /rɨɨ ɛy/ 'or what?'

Another case of an alternation question is the ហើយឬនៅ/haəy rɨɨ nɨw/ question that asks 'have...yet?', e.g.

លោកមើលចប់ហើយឬនៅ?

look məəl cɔp haəy rɨɨ nɨw

sir read finish already or not-yet

Have you finished reading (it) yet?

This kind of question can be reduced in casual speech to ឬនៅ /rɨnɨw?/.

S.4.2.2.2 Information Questions

An information question is one which asks for a specific point of information: who, what, which one, when, where why, how? For this a special set of words are used: អ្វី /ɛy/ 'what?' ណា /naa/ 'which one?, where?' អង្កាល /ɔŋkaal/ 'when (non-past)?', មៀច /mec/ (or មន្តច /mdec/) 'how?, why?' and ប៉ុន្មាន /pəmaan/ 'how much?' From these words and other words are built the other members of the class of words that ask information questions (an asterisk precedes those which are not also members of the class of indefinites treated below at S.4.3) are used only in questions.

អ្នកណា	/néʔnaa/ 'who'	from	អ្នក	/néʔ/	'person'
ឯណា	/aɛnaa/ 'where'		ឯ	/aɛ/	'at'
កាលណា	/kaalnaa/ 'when (non-past)'		កាល	/kaal/	'time'
* ពីអង្កាល	/pii ɔŋkaal/ 'when (past)'		ពី	/pii/	'from'
ហេតុអ្វី	/haɛt ɛy/ 'why?'		ហេតុ	/haɛt/	'reason'
យ៉ាងមៀច	/yaaŋ mec/ 'how, why'		យ៉ាង	/yaaŋ/	'style, way'
ធ្វើអ្វី	/thəə ɛy/ 'for what purpose'		ធ្វើ	/thəə/	'to do, make'
* មៀចកើ	/mec kɔɔ/ 'why, how'		កើ	/kɔɔ/	'medial particle' (cf. A.3.3)

In English when we ask a question we generally start the clause with the question word, e.g. 'whom did they see?' However, in Cambodian the word order in an interrogative sentence is exactly the same as that of the affirmative sentence to which it is related and which is its fullest answer. For example:

គេកេឃើញអ្នកណា?	is related to	គេកេឃើញសុខ។
kee kheeñ nɛ́ʔnaa		kee kheeñ sok
they see who		they see Sok
Whom did they see?		They saw Sok

In both cases the word order is subject-verb-object.

The following words may (but need not) occur in the sentence initially even though they are not the subject of the sentence: ពីរដ្ឋាល/(pii) ɔŋkaal/ 'when,' មេ៉ច/mec/ 'how, why,' ឯណា/aɛnaa/ 'where,' កាលណា/kaalnaa/ 'when,' ហេតុអ្វី /haɛt ɛy/ 'why,' យ៉ាងមេ៉ច/yaaŋ mec/ 'how, why.' For example:

ឯណាម្តាយវា?	or	ម្តាយវា(នៅ) ឯណា?
aɛnaa mdaay via?		mdaay via (nɨw) aɛnaa?
where mother he		mother he (at) where
Where's his mother?		Where's his mother?

One such word, មេ៉ចក៏ /mec kɔɔ/ always occurs clause initially, e.g.

មេ៉ចក៏មិនរៀន?
mec-kɔɔ kee mɨn rien?
why they not study
Why aren't they studying?

The word អ្វី /ɛy/ 'what' (or colloquially, ស្អី /sʔɛy/) may be used attributively, e.g. ឡានអ្វី /laan ɛy/ 'what kind of car.' When it contrasts in this position with ណា /naa/ 'which (one),' ណា /naa/ means 'which specific, individual one,' and អ្វី /ɛy/ means 'what kind of.' For example, ឡានអ្វី /laan ɛy/ is 'what (kind of) car' but ឡានណា /laan naa/ is 'which car (of several cars we know about).'

S.4.3 Indefinites

In English we have a set of question words, e.g. who, what etc. In addition we have indefinite pronouns many of which are related to these question words, e.g. whomever, anything, nothing, no-one, wherever, etc. In Cambodian there is one set of words which do all the things English question words and indefinite words do.

There are five basic indefinites which combine with other words to form the full set of indefinites. The basic indefinites are listed below with the kinds of grammatical unit for which they substitute:

Indefinite		Substitutes for
អ្វី	/ʔəy/ 'what, whatever, anything, nothing, none'	noun; attributive
ស្អី	/s'ʔəy/ colloquial version of អ្វី /ʔəy/	noun; attributive
ណា	/naa/ 'which, whichever, any, not anywhere, wherever, anywhere, nowhere	attributive noun indicating location
អង្កាល	/ʔŋkaal/ 'when, whenever'	noun indicating time
ម៉េច	/mec/ 'how, why, however, any way, in no way'	clause;phrase
ម្ដេច	/mdec/ is a more formal version of ម៉េច/mec/	
ប៉ុន្មាន	/pɔnmaan, pɔmaan/ 'how much, however much, any amount'	a quantity

Compound indefinites (cf. also S.4.2.2.2) combine a basic indefinite and another word to make a compound which occurs in the same syntactic positions as the basic indefinites. Compound indefinites are:

អ្នកណា	/nɔ̆ʔnaa/ 'who, whoever, anyone, no one'	noun designating a person
ឯណា	/aʔnaa/ 'where, wherever, anywhere, nowhere'	noun designating a place
កាលណា	/kaal naa/ 'when, whenever, at any time, at no time'	noun designating a time
ហេតុអ្វី	/haʔt ʔəy/ 'why, for whatever reason, for any reason, for no reason'	clause
ធ្វើអ្វី	/thee ʔəy/ 'for what purpose, for whatever purpose, for any purpose, for no purpose'	clause
យ៉ាងម៉េច	/yaaŋ mec/ 'how, why; however, whyever, any way, for any reason, no way, for no reason'	clause
ប៉ុន្មាន	/pɔnnaa/ 'how big, what size'	noun or demonstrative indicating size

Examples of uses of indefinites follow, arranged according to their English translation. In most cases examples are based on /nɨ́ʔnaa/ 'who, etc.'

who	អ្នកណាចង់ទៅ? nɨ́ʔnaa coŋ tɨw? who want go Who wants to go?
everyone	អ្នកណាក៏ដឹងដែរ។ nɨ́ʔnaa koo dəŋ dae who (particle) know also Everyone knows (that).
no-one, not anyone	ខ្ញុំមិនស្គាល់អ្នកណានៅទីនេះទេ។ khñom mɨn skɔ̌l nɨ́ʔnaa nɨw nih tee I not know who at this (negation) I don't know anyone here.
whoever, anyone who	អ្នកណានេះ អ្នកហ្នឹងត្រូវធ្វើ។ nɨ́ʔnaa ceh nɨ́ʔ nɨŋ trəw thee who know-how person that must do Whoever knows how to do it must do it.
someone (who)	ខ្ញុំត្រូវការអ្នកណា(ដែល)នេះ។ khñom trəw kaa nɨ́ʔnaa (dael) ceh I need who (that) know-how I need someone who knows how.
anyone	អ្នកណាក៏បាន។ nɨ́ʔnaa koo baan who (particle) o.k. Anyone will do; anyone is o.k.

someone

ប្រហែលខ្ញុំស្គាល់អ្នកណានៅហ្នឹង។

prohaɛl khñom skɔ́l nɛ́ʔnaa nɨw nɨŋ

maybe I know who at that

Maybe I know someone there.

(But equally often 'someone' is translated គេ /kee/, អ្នកណាម្នាក់/nɛ́ʔnaa mənɛ́ʔ/, មនុស្សម្នាក់/mənuh mənɛ́ʔ/, or just ម្នាក់/mənɛ́ʔ/.)

however many

គេចាប់ត្រីបានទាំងប៉ុន្មានលក់ទាំងប៉ុណ្ណឹង។

kee cap trɛy baan tɛ́ŋ pɔnman lúʔ tɛ́ŋ pɔnnɨŋ

they catch fish get all how-many sell all that-much

However many fish they catch they sell (they sell all the fish they catch).

as much as

ញ្ញុំប៉ុន្មានក៏បានដែរ។

ñam pɔnmaan koɔ baan daɛ

eat/drink how-much (particle) can also

You can drink as much as you like.

Word Classes

Introduction

Cambodian words can be divided into four major classes on the basis of the other words they occur with (syntactic criteria) and on the basis of internal similarities between members of the same class (morphological criteria). The four classes are:

1. Nominals: words which can serve only as subject but not as predicate of a major clause.[1]

2. Verbals: words which may serve either as predicate or as subject of a major clause.

3. Adverbials: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which do not connect any two units.

4. Relators: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which connect two phrases or two clauses.

1. There are minor clause types in which a noun serves as predicate.

Nominals

There are three types of nominal in Cambodian: pronouns, demonstratives, and nouns.

N.1 Pronouns

Cambodian can use either a pronoun or a noun in positions where English uses a pronoun. Where pronouns are used, they are not inflected; that is, they do not indicate person, number, gender, or case. However, where there is more than one pronoun corresponding to one English word, the relative age or status of the speaker and the addressee or the person to whom a third-person pronoun refers will determine the choice of pronoun.

N.1.1 First Person

N.1.1.1 Singular

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the usual and most neutral first person singular pronoun. A foreign speaker can safely use ខ្ញុំ in almost all circumstances. (Originally ខ្ញុំ meant 'servant, slave' and as a noun still has this meaning, though it usually occurs in construction with another word as a noun, e.g. ខ្ញុំបំរើ/khñom bamrae/ 'servant.')

អញ /añ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate with the speaker, much younger, or of inferior social status. The corresponding second person form is ឯង /aeŋ/ 'you.'

ក្នុង /knia/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker.

យើង /yəəŋ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker. It is used mostly in Phnom Penh, especially among girls from the upper classes. In writing យើង /yəəŋ/ is also used to represent 'I' when a god speaks.

អាត្មា /aatəmaa/ or អាត្មាភាព /aatəmaaphiap/ 'I' is used by a Buddhist monk.

ខ្ញុំបាទ /khñom baat/ 'I' is used by a man to show deference.

នាងខ្ញុំ /niaŋ khñom/ 'I' is used by a woman to show deference.

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា /khñom (prĕh) kərunaa/ is used by a layman when speaking to a monk or to someone of royal blood.

N.1.1.2 Plural

យើង /yəəŋ/ 'we' This is the general, neutral form.

យើងខ្ញុំ /yəəŋ khñom/ 'we' Another generally used form.

ខ្ញុំករុណាទាំងឡាយ /khñom kərunaa tɛ̂ŋ laay/ 'we' This is used by laymen addressing a Buddhist monk or person of royal blood.

Titles and appropriate kinship terms are also used to refer to oneself, e.g. អ្នកប៊ិនដឹងទេ /p'oun mɨn dəŋ tee/ is literally 'younger sibling doesn't know' but in some contexts means 'I don't know,' if the speaker has a relation to the addressee such that the speaker could be addressed as អ្នក /p'oun/ 'younger sibling.'

N.1.2 Second Person

ឯង /aʔəŋ/ is used with an intimate, much younger, or socially inferior addressee. Singular ឯង corresponds to the first person form អញ /añ/.

In all other cases the person's name, his title, or a kinship noun appropriate to his age and status is the appropriate form of address. The ways of addressing and referring to people using nouns rather than pronouns is discussed below at U.3. However, some examples are given below:

លោកគ្រូ /look kruu/ 'teacher' used with one's male teacher (female equivalent: អ្នកគ្រូ /nɨʔ kruu/ 'teacher').

ពូ /puu/ 'uncle (younger than one's parent)' used with a male of similar or lower social status who is of the same age as one's parents or a little younger. (female equivalent: ម៉ីង /miiŋ/ 'younger aunt').

សុខ /sok/ or សុខឯង /sok aʔəŋ/ 'Sok' (a name) used with contemporaries, juniors, and inferiors. Used with members of either sex.

N.1.3 Third Person

There is no number distinction in Cambodian third-person pronouns; all of them may have one or many referents.

គាត់ /kɔ̀t/ is used to refer to individuals, especially those whom one respects.

It would not be used to refer to one's juniors or social inferiors. It must be used in referring to one's parents, older relatives, teachers, etc. A wife normally refers to her husband as ប្អូន /bɔɔn/.

នែ /kee/ is used for casual acquaintances, people whose relationship to the speaker is distant, people of uncertain identity, people to whom one is fairly close, and one's juniors. It is also the form used for impersonal expressions in which 'they' is used in English, e.g. នែថ្លា /kee thaa/ 'they say...' You will be tempted to use គាត់ /kɔ́t/ for 'he/she' and នែ /kee/ for 'they' because of your English habits, but remember that the important thing in Cambodian is not number but relationship between speaker and referent.

វា /via/ is used to refer to things, animals, small children (especially one's own), intimates, and social inferiors. It is also used, especially in casual speech, as an expletive like 'it' in English 'it is hot,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំថ្លាវាក្តៅណាស់។

khñom thaa via kdaw nah

'I say it's very hot.'

Literary style, however, does not use this expletive វា and you should probably avoid it until you have a good idea of the kinds of circumstances in which it is used, since they will not necessarily conform to English usage.

As was the case in the second person, titles, kinship terms, and names can be used where English would use a third-person pronoun. For example: ប្អូនទៅសាលារៀន /bɔɔn tɨw saalaa haəy/ can mean 'He has gone to school already' (ប្អូន /bɔɔn/ in fact means 'older sibling' but in appropriate contexts can be used where English would use a pronoun).

The normal translations of 'he, they' for Buddhist monks are លោក/look/ 'sir, lord' or ព្រះអង្គ /prəh ɔŋ/ '(holy) body.'

Pronoun usage is also discussed in the chapter on Vocabulary and Usage.

N.2 Demonstratives

The three most common Cambodian demonstratives នេះ /nih/ នោះ/nuh/, and

ហ្នឹង /nɨŋ,[2] nəŋ/ are used both: 1) as attributes, e.g. ឡាននេះ /laan nih/ 'this car' and 2) alone, e.g. នោះជារឿងធំហើយ/nuh cia rɨəŋ thom haəy/ 'that is a grave matter.' Following a locative word like នៅ /niw/ 'at' the demonstratives mean 'here, there,' e.g.

នៅនេះមានមនុស្សច្រើនពេក។

niw nih mian mənuh craən peek

'There are too many people here.'

In meaning នេះ /nih/ corresponds well to English 'this' and នោះ /nuh/ to 'that,' but ហ្នឹង /nɨŋ/ may be translated either 'this' or 'that' depending on the context in which it occurs. In fact the meaning of ហ្នឹង /nɨŋ/ is something like 'the one I'm talking about, the one under discussion,' e.g.

ហ្នឹងហើយ។

nɨŋ haəy

'That's it; yes.'

នោះ /nuh/ and ហ្នឹង /nɨŋ/ may be used in casual style at the end of a verb phrase to indicate that the action is going on at the time of speaking, much like English 'there' in:

លោកធ្វើអ្វីហ្នឹង?

look thəə ɛy nɨŋ

'What are you doing there?'

Less common demonstratives are: ន៉ /nɔ́o/ 'yonder, over there,' which has a kind of pointing connotation, and ណុង /noŋ/ which has the same meaning as ហ្នឹង /nɨŋ/ but is limited to spoken usage; it is not characteristic of written usage.

N.3 Nouns

In English, nouns are inflected for number (singular vs. plural), e.g. boy, boys, and in many European languages they are inflected not only for number, but for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) and case (nominative, genitive, dative, etc.) as well. However, in Cambodian nouns are not inflected at all; a noun keeps the same form no matter what its

2. /nɨŋ/ is Phnom Penh pronunciation.

syntactic environment. Thus a noun like សៀវភៅ /sɔphiw/ means either 'book' or 'books.' Generally the context in which the noun is used is sufficient to make the number clear if such clarity is necessary.

To be sure, while nouns are not inflected, there do exist ways of specifying such common Indo-European categories as number. For instance, the word សៀវភៅ/sɔphiw/ 'book' can be followed by the word ខ្លះ /khlah/ 'some' to make an indefinite plural 'some books, books' (but note that English 'the books' would never be translated as សៀវភៅ /sɔphiw khlah/). Another pluralizer is តាំងឡាយ /tɛŋ laay/, which pluralizes definite nouns, e.g. សៀវភៅតាំងឡាយ/sɔphiw tɛŋ laay/ ' the books.' Likewise gender can be ascribed by following the noun by the appropriate word. ប្រុស /proh/ '(human) male.' ស្រី /srəy/ '(human) female,' ឈ្មោល/chmool/ '(animal) male' ញី /ñii/ '(animal) female. For example:

សៀនប្រុស	/smien proh/ 'a male secretary'
តាញី	/tia ñii/ 'female duck'

Case relations (actor, goal, location, etc.) are expressed by paraphrastic or syntactic means, e.g.

ខ្ញុំអោយលុយគាត់។

khñom aoy luy kɔ̂t

I'll give him *some* money.

in which ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the agent, លុយ /luy/ 'money' is direct object, and គាត់ /kɔ̂t/ 'him' is indirect object. These functions are all determined by the positions of the three nominals relative to the verb អោយ /aoy/ 'give' and to each other.

There are three types of noun with respect to composition: root nouns, complex nouns, and compound nouns. Root nouns cannot be analyzed into any smaller meaningful components, e.g. ឆ្កែ /chkaɛ/ 'dog,' កាសែត/kesaɛt/ 'newspaper.' Complex nouns include at least one prefix or infix, e.g. បង្កើត/bɔŋkaət/ 'to originate' (/bɔŋ-/ 'causative prefix' + /kaət/ 'to be born, arise') or សំណួរ /sɔmnuo/ 'question' (/suo/ 'to ask' + /-amn-/ 'nominalizing infix.') A compound noun is a noun composed of at least two other words, which if they are nouns may in turn be either root nouns or complex nouns, e.g. កិច្চការ/keckaa/ 'matter' កិច្ច (kec/ 'matter, affair' + /kaa/ 'work, matter') or សំណួរ-ចម្លើយ /sɔmnuo-cɔmlaəy/ 'questions and answers' (/sɔmnuo/ 'question' + /cɔmlaəy/ 'answer').

N.3.1 Complex Nouns

In most cases, complex nouns are derivatives of root nouns. That is, both the root noun and the complex noun are members of a group of words which are related in both form and meaning, e.g.

រកើត	/kaət/ 'to be born'
រខ្ទីត	/knaət/ 'period of the waxing moon'
កំរណើត	/kɔmnaət/ 'birth, origin'
បរង្កើត	/bɔŋkaət/ 'to found, to originate'[3]

all of which are formally related by the sharing of the phoneme sequence /kaət/ and semantically related by the idea of birth, rising and the like. With exceptions as noted below, these affixes are not fully productive; that is, you cannot freely add an affix to a root noun (or any other kind of base) to get a noun that is acceptable to native speakers or which bears the same semantic relation to the root word as the model on which you made your analogy. This means that you will have to learn derivatives as separate vocabulary items, but the similarities between members of a derivative group like the រកើត /kaət/ group above may help you recognize and learn new words faster.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex nouns.[4]

N.3.1.1 Prefixes

1. បង់ /bɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. បន្ទុក /bɔntuk/ 'a load' from ទុក /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.' Note that this prefix is pronounced as follows:

   a. /bɔm/ before /p,b/, e.g. បំពាក់ /bɔmpɛʔ/ 'upper garment' from ពាក់/pɛʔ/ 'to wear above the waist.'

   b. /bɔn/ before /t, d, s, l/, e.g. បន្ទុក /bɔntuk/ 'a load' from ទុក /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.'

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3. These examples are taken from Huffman 1967 p.66.

4. I am indebted to Huffman 1967 for much of the basis of the following treatment of prefixes and infixes; a fuller treatment of this aspect of Cambodian grammar may be found in his work.

c. */bɔñ/ before /c/ (there are no nominal examples for this rule, but verbs with the prefix បង់ /bɔŋ-/ follow it (cf. V.3.2.1 (8) below)).

d. /bɔŋ/ elsewhere, e.g. បង្កាន់ /bɔŋkan/ 'handle, railing' from កាន់/kan/ 'to hold.'

2. ប្រ /pro-/ 'nominalization of root verb;' e.g. ប្រវែង /provaeŋ/ 'length' from វែង /vaeŋ/ 'long.'

3. ព្រះ /prəh-/ (in fast speech /pre-/) 'sacred, royal' e.g. ព្រះអាទិត្យ /prəh aatit/ 'the sun' from អាទិត្យ/aatit/ 'sun, week.' The word ព្រះis used frequently with words relating to royalty. It is productive.

4. ម៉ /me-/ from មួយ /muoy/ 'one,' e.g. ម្យ៉ាង /meyaaŋ/ 'one kind of' from យ៉ាង /yaaŋ/ 'kind'

5. សង់ /sɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. សង្កាត់ /sɔŋkat/ 'sector, quarter' from កាត់ /kat/ 'to cut.' This prefix follows the same pronunciation rule as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

6. អន់ /ɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. អំបោស/ɔmbaoh/ 'broom' from បោស/baoh/ 'to sweep.' This prefix follows the same rules as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

7. អា /aa-/ with adjectives and demonstratives means 'the...one,' e.g. អាតូច /aa touc/ 'the small one' from តូច /touc/ 'small.' With nouns, names, and pronouns it has a diminutive, derogatory, or intimate meaning, e.g. អាផាឡា /aaphaalaa/, Phala (a name) (used with a child or inferior). This prefix is productive.

N.3.1.2 Infixes

The infixes are not given below in Cambodian script, since they will ordinarily be represented by a subscript consonant form or sub-syllabic vowel-consonant sequence. However, the examples are supplied in script as well as in transcription.

1. /-b-/ 'nominalization of root verb,' e.g. ល្បឿន/lbɨən/ 'speed' from ល្បឿន/lɨən/ 'fast.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the derivative begins with the syllable /ro/, e.g. របាំ /robam/ 'dance (n.)' from រាំ /rɔm/ 'to dance.'

2. /-n-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ខ្នែត /khnaət/ 'period of waxing moon' from កត /kaət/ 'to be born.' If the root verb begins with /d/ the derivative begins with /t/ (transliterated th); if the root verb begins with /b/, the derivative begins with /p/ (transliterated ph), e.g. ធ្នោល /thnaol/ 'punting pole' from ដោល /daol/ 'to punt' or ផ្នែក /phnaɛk/ 'a piece' from បែក /baɛk/ 'to shatter.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the first syllable of the derivative is /ro/, e.g. រនាស់ /ronɔ́h/ 'a rake' from រាស់ /rɔ́h/ 'to rake.'

3. /-ɔmn-/ 'nominalization of root verb.' This infix takes two forms: /-ɔm-/ occurs in cases where the base begins with a consonant sequence, e.g. សម្ល /sɔmlɔɔ/ 'stew' from ស្ល /slɔɔ/ 'to stew.' However, if the base begins with a single consonant, the infix takes the form /-ɔmn-/, e.g. សំណួរ /sɔmnuo/ 'question' from សួរ /suo/ 'to ask.' In some cases the vowel of the infix is /u/ (/-um-/, /-umn-/), e.g. លំអ /lumʔɔɔ/ 'beauty' from ល្អ /lʔɔɔ/ 'good, pretty' or ជម្ងឺ /cumŋɨɨ/ 'illness' from ឈឺ /chɨɨ/ 'sick, ill.' Base initial /p,t/ become /b,d/ before this infix.

In a few cases the base is a root noun, e.g. ជំនាន់ /cumnɔ́n/ 'generation, era' from ជាន់ /cɔ́n/ 'floor, stratum.'

4. /-ɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of root verb; e.g. សម្បថ /sɔmbɔt/ 'oath' from ស្បថ /sbɔt/ 'to swear.' In cases where the root verb begins with /p/ or /t/, (often transliterated ph and th, respectively), the derivative begins with /bɔŋ-/ or /dɔŋ-/ respectively, e.g. បង្អែម /bɔŋʔaɛm/ 'dessert' from ផ្អែម /phʔaɛm/ 'sweet' or តំបាញ /dɔmbaañ/ 'weaving' from /tbaañ/ 'to weave.' This infix takes the form /-ún-/ in ពន្លឺ /púnlɨɨ/ 'light' from ភ្លឺ /plɨɨ/ 'to be light.' Note that this infix is pronounced as follows:

អម៉ (1) /-ɔm-/ before /b, p/

អន់ /-ɔn-/ before /d, t, l/

អញ្ញ /-ɔñ-/ before /c/

អង់ /-ɔŋ-/ elsewhere

In many cases affixation is accompanied by a change in the quality of the vowel, e.g. ឡែងង /lbaɛŋ/ 'game' from លេង/leeŋ/ 'to play.' Instances of this vowel quality change are not predictable and must be learned for each set of words individually.

N.3.2 Compound Nouns

Almost all Cambodian compounds can be analyzed as consisting of two parts; these parts can then be subdivided further in some cases. There are two types of compound. Uncentered compounds[5] are those in which neither element of the compound is modified by the other. In centered compounds[5] one element is modified by the other.

N.3.2.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are three types of uncentered compound noun: reduplicative, coordinate, and appositive.

N.3.2.1.1 Reduplicative Compounds

Reduplicative compounds consist of repetition of a base noun, e.g. ក្មេងៗ /kmeeŋkmeeŋ/ 'children' from ក្មេង /kmeeŋ/ 'child.' A reduplicated compound is plural in meaning and often refers to the noun in a general sense, e.g.

ស្រីៗរៀងៗហើយ
srɛysrɛy əñcəŋ haəy
Women are like that. (ស្រី /srɛy/ 'woman.')

N.3.2.1.2 Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consist of two or three base nouns. Normally this kind of compound refers to a class of objects or persons of which the components are members, e.g. ខោអាវ/khao aav/ 'clothing' from ខោ /khao/ 'pants' and អាវ /aav/ 'shirt,' or តុទូកៅអី /tok tuu kawʔɛy/ 'furniture' from តុ /tok/ 'table,' ទូ /tuu/ 'cabinet,' កៅអី/kawʔɛy/ 'chair.'

5. These two terms are adapted from Huffman 1967.

N.3.2.1.3 Appositive Compounds

Appositive compounds are nouns whose first component is a title (including kinship terms) and whose second component is a name or other identifying noun, e.g. លោកគ្រូ/look kruu/ 'teacher' from លោក/look/ 'sir, mister' and គ្រូ 'teacher' or បងគឹម /bɔɔŋ kɨm/ គឹម 'Kim' from បង /bɔɔŋ/ 'older sibling' and គឹម /kɨm/ a name of someone (who is called បង /bɔɔŋ/ because he is somewhat older than the speaker, with whom he is on intimate terms, or who is of inferior social status).

N.3.2.2 Centered Compounds

There are two types of centered compound: full centered compounds and pseudocompounds.[6] The components of full centered compounds occur alone as words; in the case of pseudocompounds one or both components may be bound (i.e. do not occur alone).

N.3.2.2.1 Full Centered Compounds

The heads of all full centered compounds are nouns, and the compounds themselves are nouns. The modifier portion of the compound may be:

1. a verb, e.g. បន្ទប់គេង /ptup keeŋ/ 'bedroom' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room' and គេង /keeŋ/ 'to sleep.'
2. a noun, e.g. បន្ទប់ទឹក /ptup tɨk/ 'bathroom' from បន្ទប់/ptup/ 'room' and ទឹក /tɨk/ 'water.'
3. a verb and object, e.g. បន្ទប់ទទួលភ្ញៀវ /ptup tətuol phñiew/ 'living room' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room,' ទទួល/tətuol/ 'to receive,' and ភ្ញៀវ /phñiew/ 'guest.'

In most cases the head of the compound comes first, as in all the above examples. An example of a compound whose second part can be considered to be the head is ដើមឈើ /daəm chee/ ឈើ 'tree' from ដើម /daəm/ 'something long and thin, stem' and ឈើ /chee/ 'wood.' (An argument can also be made that ដើម /daəm/ is the head of the compound and not ឈើ /chee/.) In many cases where both elements of the compound are borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali, the

6. Term from Huffman 1967 p. 120

head comes second, e.g. ភាសាវិជ្ជា /phiasaa-viccia/ 'the study of language' from ភាសា /phiasaa/ 'language' and វិជ្ជា /viccia/ 'study, knowledge.' The most common nouns serving as heads of full centered compounds are the following (arranged according to Cambodian alphabetic order). They are all productive.

1. កម្ម /kam/ 'action,' e.g. កម្មវិធី /kam-vithii/ 'program' from វិធី /vithii/ 'occasion, ceremony.'

2. ការ /kaa/ 'matter, work' used:

   a. with verbs, e.g. ការរកស៊ី /kaa-rɔɔ?-sii/ 'earning a living' from រកស៊ី /rɔɔ?-sii/ 'to earn a living,' រក /rɔɔ?/ 'to seek,' ស៊ី /sii/ 'to eat.'

   b. with nouns, e.g. ការរដ្ឋការ /kaa-rɔttəkaa/ 'government work' from រដ្ឋការ /rɔttəkaa/ 'civil service.'

3. កិច្ច /kec/ 'matter, affair;' e.g. កិច្ចការ /kec-kaa/ 'matter, business' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, matter.'

4. ខាង /khaaŋ/ 'side, area (e.g. of study),' e.g. ខាងលើ /khaaŋ-ləə/ 'above' from លើ /ləə/ 'on, above,' or ខាងវិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /khaaŋ-vicciasah/ 'in the area of science' from វិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /vicciasah/ 'science.'

5. គ្រឿង /krɨəŋ/ 'tool, part, component,' e.g. គ្រឿងម៉ាស៊ីន /krɨəŋ-masɨn/ 'machine parts and engines.'

6. ដំណើរ /dəmnaə/ 'gait; process; trip,' e.g. ដំណើរការរកស៊ី /dəmnaə-rɔɔ?-sii/ 'process of earning a living' from រកស៊ី /rɔɔ?-sii/ 'to earn a living.'

7. ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/ 'day,' e.g. ថ្ងៃបុណ្យ /thŋay-bon/ 'holiday' from បុណ្យ /bon/ 'holiday, ritual.'

8. ទឹក /tɨk/ 'liquid, water,' e.g. ទឹកក្រូច /tɨk-krouc/ 'orange juice' from ក្រូច /krouc/ 'citrus, orange.'

9. ទី /tii/ 'place,' e.g. ទីក្រុង /tii-kroŋ/ 'city' from ក្រុង /kroŋ/ 'city, town' or ទីគោរព /tii-kooruup/ 'object of respect' from គោរព /kooruup/ 'to respect.'

10. បន្ទប់ /bontup, ptup, ktup/ 'room,' e.g. បន្ទប់គេង /bontup-deek/ 'bedroom' from គេង /deek/ 'to sleep.'

11. ប្រដាប់ /prədap/ 'tool, equipment,' e.g. ប្រដាប់ភ្លេង /prədap-phleeŋ/ 'musical instrument' from ភ្លេង /phleeŋ/ 'music.'

12. ផ្ទុះ /phtéh/ 'house, place of - ,' e.g. ផ្ទុះលក់បាយ /phtéh-lúʔ-baay/ 'restaurant' from លក់ /lúʔ/ 'to sell' and បាយ /baay/ 'cooked rice; a meal.'

13. ពណ៌ /póa/ 'color,' e.g. ពណ៌ស្វាយ /póa-swaay/ 'purple' from ស្វាយ /swaay/ 'purple.'

14. ភាព /phiap/ 'state,' e.g. ភាពយន្ត /phiap-yún/ 'moving picture' from យន្ត /yún/ 'machine, engine, vehicle.'

15. ឡម /mee/

a. 'female,' e.g. ឡមឡា /mee-koo/ 'cow (opposed to a bull)' from ឡា /koo/ 'cow, ox.'

b. 'leader, chief' e.g. ឡមទាហាន /mee-təhian/ 'officer (military)' from ទាហាន /təhian/ 'soldier; military.'

16. ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ 'owner, master,' e.g. ម្ចាស់ផ្ទុះ /mcah-phtéh/ 'landlord, host' from ផ្ទុះ /phtéh/ 'house.'

17. រោង /rooŋ/ 'large building for a specific function,' e.g. រោងចក្រ /rooŋ-caʔ/ 'factory' from ចក្រ /caʔ/ 'wheel.'

18. ល្ធទិ /latti?/ 'philosophical system,' e.g. ល្ធទិសង្គមនិយម /latti?-sɔŋkumniyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គមនិយម /sɔŋkumniyum/ 'socialist.'

19. វិជ្ជា /wiccia/ 'knowledge, study of,' e.g. វិជ្ជាពេទ្យ /wiccia-pɛɛt/ '(study of) medicine' from ពេទ្យ /pɛɛt/ 'medicine, doctor, hospital.'

20. វិធី /vithii, pithii/ 'occasion, event, ceremony,' e.g. វិធីបំពាក់សក្តិ /vithi-bɔmpéʔ-saʔ/ 'promotion ceremony' from បំពាក់ /bɔmpéʔ/ 'to put on (trans.)' and សក្តិ /saʔ/ 'rank.'

21. សាច់ /sac/ 'meat, flesh' e.g. សាច់ឡា /sac-koo/ 'beef' from ឡា /koo/ 'cow, ox.'

22. សាលា /saalaa/ 'school, hall,' e.g. សាលារៀន /saalaa-rien/ 'school' from រៀន /rien/ 'to study.'

23. សេចក្តី /sec-kdɛy/ 'matter, affair,' e.g. សេចក្តីស្លាប់ /sec-kdɛy-slap/ 'death' from ស្លាប់ /slap/ 'to die.'

24. ស្ថាន, ឋាន /sthaan, thaan/ 'place,' e.g. ស្ថានទូត /sthaan-tuut/ 'embassy' from ទូត /tuut/ 'diplomat, diplomatic.'

25. អ្នក /néʔ/ 'person, human being,' e.g. អ្នកនសាទត្រី /néʔ-neesaat-trɛy/ 'fisherman' from នសាទ /neesaat/ 'to fish' and ត្រី /trɛy/ 'fish,' or អ្នករដ្ឋការ /néʔ-róttəkaa/ 'civil servant' from រដ្ឋការ /róttəkaa/ 'government, civil service.'

The following are common heads of full centered compounds which have variants used only in compounds and never alone. The transcriptions of the bound variants follow those of the independent ones.

1. ព្រុទ្ធ /put, puttə-/ 'Buddha,' e.g. ព្រុទ្ធសាសនា /puttə-sahɛhaa/ 'Buddhism' from សាសនា /sahsnaa/ 'religion.'

2. ពាល /púl, púllə-/ 'the people (force),' e.g. ពាលរដ្ឋ /púllərót/ 'citizenry' from រដ្ឋ /rót/ 'state.'

3. ភ្ជុមិ /phuum, phuumi-/ 'place, region,' e.g. ភ្ជុមិភាគ /phuumi-phiaʔ/ 'region' from ភាគ /phiaʔ/ 'part.'

4. យន្ត /yún, yúntə/ 'motor, engine,' e.g. យន្តរហាះ /yún-hɔh/ 'airplane' from រហាះ /hɔh/ 'to fly.'

5. យាន /yian, yianə/ 'vehicle,' e.g. យានដ្ឋាន /yianə-thaan/ 'garage' from ដ្ឋាន /thaan/ 'place.'

6. យុទ្ធ /yut, yuttə/ 'fighting, struggle,' e.g. យុទ្ធជិន /yuttə-cún/ 'fighter' from ជិន /cún/ 'person.'

7. យុវ /yuvéʔ, yuvə/ 'youth, young person,' e.g. យុវជិន /yuwə-cún/ 'youth' from ជិន /cún/ 'person.'

8. រដ្ឋ /rót, róttə/ 'state,' e.g. រដ្ឋការ /róttə-kaa/ 'government, civil service' from ការ /kaa/ 'word, affair.'

9. រាជ /riac, riaccə/ 'king, royal,' e.g. រាជការ /riac-kaa, riaccə-kaa/ 'government' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, affair.'

10. ឯក /aɛk, aɛkkə/ 'one, single, highest,' e.g. ឯកជិន /aɛkkə-cún/ 'private (public)' from ជិន /cún/ 'person.'

N.3.2.2.2 Pseudocompounds

There are two main types of pseudocompound:

1. Those in which both components have meaning.
2. Those in which only the head has a meaning and the other component is a word-like sequence of syllables with no meaning outside of its role in the compound.

N.3.2.2.2.1 Pseudocompounds with Two Meaningful Components

The following common bound components occur at the beginning of a compound. In no case is any of the following bound components head of the compound.

1. ប្រជា /prɔcia-/ 'people, popular,' e.g. ប្រជាជាតិ /prɔcia-ciat/ 'nation, nationality' from ជាតិ /ciat/ 'nation.'
2. មហា /mohaa-/ 'great, large,' មហាសមុទ្រ /moha-samot/ 'ocean' from សមុទ្រ /samot/ 'sea.'
3. សហ /saha?-/ 'united,' e.g. សហរដ្ឋ /saha?-rɔ̀t/ 'united states' from រដ្ឋ /rɔ̀t/ 'state.'
4. អក្ក /akkɔ́?/ 'high, important,' e.g. អក្ករដ្ឋទូត /akkɔ́?-rɔ̀ttə-tuut/ 'ambassador plenipotentiary' from រដ្ឋទូត /rɔ̀ttətuut/ 'ambassador.'
5. អនុ /anu?-/ 'under, lesser,' e.g. អនុវិទ្យាល័យ /anu?-vityialay/ 'junior high school' from វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school.'
6. ឧត្តម /utdom, udom/ 'high, noble,' e.g. ឧត្តមស្ថាន /udomɔthaan/ 'superior class' from ស្ថាន /thaan/ 'place.'

The following common bound components occur at the end of the compound. These components are all head of the compound in which they occur.

1. ចរ /-cɔɔ/ 'to go; travel,' e.g. ទេសចរ /tehsə-cɔɔ/ 'tourist' from ទេស /teeh/ 'place.'
2. ចរណ៍ /-cɔɔ/ 'traveling,' e.g. ទេសចរណ៍ /tehsə-cɔɔ/ 'tourism' from ទេស /teeh/ 'place.'
3. និយម /-niyum/ '-ism' e.g. សង្គមនិយម /sɔŋkum-niyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គម /sɔŋkum/ 'society.'

4. សាស្ត្រ /-sah/ 'study of' e.g. វិជ្ជាសាស្ត្រ /viccia-sah/ 'science' from វិជ្ជា /viccia/ 'knowledge.'

5. អាល័យ /-alay/ 'place,' e.g. វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school' from វិទ្យា/វិជ្ជា/vityia, viccia/ 'knowledge.'

N.3.2.2.2.2 Pseudocompounds with One Meaningful Component

Normally pseudocompounds of this sort are formed with the meaningful element (the head) initial. There are two types of compound of this sort:

1. Those which involve a partial reduplication of the first element, e.g. ក្បាលក្បូរ /kbaal-kbouŋ/ 'head' from ក្បាល /kbaal/ 'head.'

2. Those in which the components bear no formal resemblance to each other, e.g. ប្រាក់កាស /pra?-kah/ 'money' from ប្រាក់/pra?/'silver, money.'

Reduplicative compounds are of three major types:

1. Rhyming compounds, e.g. ចានក្បាន /caan-kbaan/ 'crockery, chinaware' from ចាន /caan/ 'dish, bowl.'[7]

2. Alliterative compounds, e.g. ប្រដាប់ប្រដា /prɔdap-prɔdaa/ 'equipment' from ប្រដាប់ /prɔdap/ 'tool.'

3. Ablauting compounds, in which only the vowel changes, e.g. កុមារ /kmeeŋ-kmaaŋ/ 'children' from កុមារ /kmeeŋ/ 'child.'

7. ក្បាន /kbaan/ is an obsolete form of no meaning to most present-day Cambodians.

VERBALS

V.1 Introduction

Cambodian verbs, like Cambodian nouns, are not inflected, in contrast with verbs of European languages. That is, the form of the verb remains the same no matter what syntactic environment it occurs in. Needless to say, there is no agreement with the person or number of the subject, and verbal categories like tense, aspect, voice are expressed paraphrastically when they are expressed at all. A verb like ទៅ /tɨw/ 'go' can be 'went, goes, is going, will go, have gone, had gone, etc.' depending on the other words with which it is used (e.g. adverbs, auxiliaries) or on its context (e.g. talking about future plans).

Categories of tense (past, present, and future) and of aspect (perfective, imperfective, etc.) are expressed by preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ដែល /daɛl/ '(have) ever,' and by adverbials, e.g. ហើយ /haəy/ 'already.' These categories also appear in resultative verbs, e.g. រៀនចប់ /rien cɔp/ 'to finish studying' (cf. S.2.2.3.1).

Some modal categories, e.g. desire, obligation, ability, appear in preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ចង់ /cɔŋ/ 'to want' or in resultative verbs, e.g. បាន /baan/ 'can' in ចង់បាន/thəə baan/ 'can do (it).'

There is no subjunctive in Cambodian; situations like contrary-to-fact are signaled by context. For instance, the English sentence 'If he had known, he wouldn't have come' is translated into Cambodian as បើគាត់ដឹងគាត់មិនមកទេ /baə kót dəŋ kót mɨn móo tee/. This Cambodian sentence can also be translated 'If he knows, he won't come' or 'If he knew, he didn't come.' There is no overt signal at all in this sentence for a contrary-to-fact situation.

Transitivity and voice in Cambodian are complicated. There is no inflection for voice (active and passive), and in many cases a given verb may be translated either by an active or a passive verb in English, e.g.

ឡានលោកធ្វើនៅឯណា?
laan look thəə nɨw aɛnaa
Where was your car made/fixed?

or

លោកធ្វើឡាននៅឯណា?
look thəə laan nɨw aɛnaa
Where did you fix (make) your car?

Verbs of this sort are normally 'active' in meaning with an animate subject (លោក /look/) and passive in meaning with an inanimate subject (/laan/).

In casual, spoken usage there are even ambiguous sentences (with a limited set of verbs) like កាត់ដេញពីម្សិលមិញ /kót deñ pii məsəl miñ/, which may be translated either as 'he was chased yesterday' or 'he chased (someone) yesterday.' However, such a sentence with a passive meaning would ordinarily be inadmissible in formal style.

In fact we can say that there is no passive construction in Cambodian, though there are devices which can be used to translate passives in other languages. Usually Cambodian prefers a simple active sentence, perhaps with an indefinite subject គេ /kee/ 'they;' however, especially in formal usage, an English passive can be translated using the verb ត្រូវ /trəw/ 'to experience something, to undergo.' The resulting sentence is an <u>active</u> sentence; what follows ត្រូវ modifies ត្រូវ ; ត្រូវ in this case is not an auxiliary but the main verb. For example, ខ្ញុំត្រូវគេបាញ់ /khñom trəw kee bañ/ 'I was shot (by them)' is literally 'I had an experience, namely, they shot me.' Much more rarely បាន /baan/ 'get' is used like ត្រូវ in this case, but with the connotation of something desirable, e.g.

ទ្រាបានរដ្ឋាការដ្ឋយទិយរៀរៀនខាងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច។

via baan róttəkaa cuoy aoy tɨw rien khaaŋ seethəkec

He was helped by the government to go study economics.

A topic closely related to voice is causative action, in which one person permits or influences another to perform an action. Cambodian has a number of devices for expressing causative action, one of the most common of which is the verb ទិយ /aoy/ 'give,' which when used in construction with another verb means 'permit, cause to' e.g.

ខ្ញុំទិយទ្រាមើលកាសែតនេះ។

khñom aoy via məəl kasaɛt nih

I let him read this newspaper(or I had him read this newspaper.).

Another device is affixation, in which a root verb (cf. V.3 below) occurs with the prefix បង់ /bɔŋ/, e.g. បង្កើត /bɔŋkaət/ 'to originate' from កើត /kaət/ 'to be born, to develop.'

Verbs which describe services are usually ambiguous; either they are active or they are causative. For example, one of the examples in the discussion of the passive that was given above:

[illegible]

look thəə laan nɨw aɛnaa

'Where did you fix your car?' can also mean, 'Where did you have your car fixed?'

[illegible]/khñom tɨw kat sɔʔ/ is either, 'I'll go cut my hair,' or, 'I'll go have my hair cut.'

You will see as you learn Cambodian that few of the other verbal categories are exactly like those of English in meaning either. Even where they seem to be alike, they will not always be used under the same circumstances. For instance [illegible] /baan/ used before a verb means something very much like English past tense, that is, action completed before the utterance or before a specific reference point, e.g.

[illegible]

kɔɔŋ kɔmlaŋ yəəŋ baan bañ tɨw viñ

Our forces shot back.

However, this use of [illegible] is far more common in literary language than spoken and would be used in spoken discourse primarily to clarify an ambiguous situation and in some circles might scarcely be used at all.

V.2 Types of Verbal

There are three types of verbal in Cambodian: auxiliaries, stative verbs ('adjectives') and action verbs.

V.2.1 Auxiliaries

There is a small set of auxiliaries which express tense/aspect categories and another, larger set whose members have modal meanings. Some of them may be followed by the syllable [illegible] /taɛ/ with no change in meaning, in which case they are written below with [illegible] following in parentheses, e.g. [illegible] /nɨw(taɛ)/'still.'

V.2.1.1 Tense/Aspect Auxiliaries

Tense/aspect auxiliaries can be grouped according to three criteria: aspect, duration, and 'reality.'

There are three aspectual categories: completed[1] action, begun but not completed action; and unbegun action. In addition, an auxiliary may be marked as durative; that is, it is either repeated or overlaps in time with some other action, as is the case in 'I am eating,' in which the act of eating overlaps in time with the act of speaking.

Completed Action

Unmarked: បាន /baan/'past action'

ដែល /daɛl/'within the subject's previous experience; translates 'have ever, never.'

Durative: ធ្លាប់ /thlóp/'within the subject's previous experience,' usually refers to an act done more than once; sometimes translates 'used to.'

និយម /niyum/'frequent practice'

Begun Action

Unmarked: នៅ(ដែត) /nɨw(taɛ)/'still' (emphasizes incompletion)

Durative: កំពុង(ដែត) /kɔmpuŋ(taɛ)/'action in progress at the same time as some other action which is usually the act of speaking ' (usually translated by 'is/was ...ing').

Unbegun Action

Unmarked: នឹង /nɨŋ/'will' (predicted action in the future)

មិនទាន់ /mɨntón/'not yet' (unbegun but anticipated as strong possibility).

Durative: No forms

In addition, some auxiliaries specifically mark the event in a clause as real, that is, it actually has happened and is not a possibility or even a prediction. The auxiliaries which carry this meaning are

ដែល /daɛl/'ever, have ever'

ធ្លាប់ /thlóp/'have done, used to do'

និយម /niyum/'to have as custom or habit'

---

1. The word 'completed' here means only that the act is no longer going on, not that all the work has been done to completion.

and one idiom មាន /mian/plus clause, e.g.

មានកេលក់ម្ហូបនៅនេះទេ?
/mian kee lúʔ mehoup nɨw nih tee?/
(Is it a fact that) they sell food here?

None of these 'reality markers' is used in the future. This means that to say 'don't ever say that' you cannot use the word ដែល/daɛl/'ever'. Instead you will have to translate this sentence another way, e.g.

កុំថាអញ្ជឹងឲយសោះ។
/kom thaa əñcəŋ aoy sɔh/
'Don't ever say that!' (literally 'don't say that at all!).

Likewise ដែល /daɛl/ cannot be used in a sentence like 'I'll never do that again.'

V.2.1.2 Modal Auxiliaries

There are many verbs used before another verb with modal meaning, but there is only a small class of verbs the members of which occur only as auxiliaries. These are

a. គួរ (ដែត)/kuo(taɛ)/'should'
b. ត្រូវ(ដែត)/trəw(taɛ)/'must'
c. អាច/aac/'can, (is) able'
d. មិនបាច់/mɨn bac/ 'don't need to' (មិនត្រូវ /mɨn trəw/ means 'must not').
e. ចង់ /cɔŋ/'to want to' (N.B. 'to want' + noun is always ចង់បាន /cɔŋ baan/ + noun, literally 'to want to get' + noun.

Other verbs which occur in preverbal position are considered full verbs which are in an attributive construction with the main verb, e.g.

លោកត្រូវិការមក
/look trəw kaa moɔ́/
You need to come

in which ត្រូវិការ /trəw kaa/'need' is not considered a modal auxiliary since it also occurs as a main verb in a sentence like

ខ្ញុំមិនត្រូវិការលុយទេ។

/knñom mɨn trɐw kaa luy tee/

I don't need money.

V.2.2 Adjectives (Stative Verbs)

In English adjectives are classed as nominals; however, in Cambodian they are verbals. They occur in the same syntactic positions as action verbs. This means that you cannot translate English 'is/are' before a predicate adjective. For instance, the English sentence 'my friend is fat' is translated ពួកម៉ាកខ្ញុំធាត់ /puoʔ maʔ khñom thɔ́t/ and the word ធាត់ /thɔ́t/ means 'to be fat' not just 'fat.' While there are words in Cambodian which translate English 'be,' they are never used before a predicate adjective.

Adjectives are used with verbal auxiliaries just as action verbs are, e.g.

គាត់ត្រូវិពូវិកៃ។

/kɔ́t trɐw pukaɛ/

He ought to be skillful.

However, they do not occur in construction with resultative verbs (cf. S.2.2.3.1) like ចប់ /cɔp/'to complete.'

Henceforth, unless otherwise specified, the term 'verb' is used to refer to both adjectives and action verbs.

V.3 Composition of Verbs

Like nouns, verbs are categorized as root verbs (only one component), complex verbs (containing an affix), and compound verbs (containing two or more independent words).

V.3.1 Root Verbs

Root verbs are both native, e.g. រកីត /kaət/'to be born, arise' and borrowed, e.g. បូជា /boucia/'to cremate' (from Sanskrit). Most native root verbs are monosyllabic, e.g. ចូល /coul/'to enter.'

V.3.2 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs are formed by prefixation and infixation. As was the case with complex nouns (cf. N.3.1), the affixes are not productive, though some are very widespread.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex ~~nouns~~ verbs.

V.3.2.1 Prefixes

1. /p-/ 'causative,' e.g. ប្ដឹង /pdəŋ/'to report (cause to know)' from ដឹង /dəŋ/ 'know' or ពុំ /phdom/'to gather together (cause to form a lump)' from ដុំ /'dom/ 'a piece, lump.'

2. /k-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ក្បត់ /kbɔt/'to betray' from /bɔt/'to turn, to fold.'

3. /Cɔ-/ or /Co-/ where C is the same as the first consonant of the root verb, e.g. កកាយ /kɔkaay/'to scratch, dig at (repeatedly)' from កាយ /kaay/ 'to dig.' In this case C is /k/. Normally Cɔ-/Co- indicates repetitive or intensive action.

4. /ro-/ a. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. រលត់ /rolʉ́t/ 'extinguished' from លត់ /lʉ́t/'to extinguish, put out.'

   b. 'intransitivity,' e.g. រលាយ /roliey/'to melt, thaw (intrans.),' from លាយ /liey/'to mix.'

5. /prɔ-/ a. 'reciprocity,' e.g. (ប្រកាម /prɔcam/'to wait for one another' from ចាំ /cam/'to wait.'

   b. 'causative,' e.g. ប្រដូច /prɔdouc/'to compare (cause to be similar) from ដូច /douc/'like, similar to.'

   c. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ប្រកាន់ /prɔkan/'to maintain; to discriminate' from កាន់ /kan/'to hold.'

6. /crɔ-/ 'causative,' e.g. ជ្រមុជ /crɔmuc/'to submerge (trans.)' from មុជ /muc/'to dive, go under.'

7. /krɔ-/ 'change of meaning from root verb,' e.g. ក្រវត់ /krɔvɔ́t/'to jerk (in any direction)' from វត់ /vɔ́t/'to jerk (over the shoulder).'

8. /bɔŋ-/,/pʉ́ŋ-/ 'causative,' e.g. បង្រៀន /bɔŋrien/'to teach' from រៀន /rien/'to study, to learn;' ពុង្រីក /pʉ́ŋriik/'to expand, to build up (trans.)' from រីក /riik/'to expand (intrans.), to bloom.' Note that the /ŋ/ at the end of this prefix can be replaced by some other nasal consonant following the rules in N.3.1.1 prefix 1. This is one of the most common prefixes.

9. /dɔn/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. ដណ្តើម /dɔndaam/'to quarrel over ownership' from ដើម /daam/'origin.'

10. /rum/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. រំលាយ /rumliey/'to melt (transitive)' from លាយ/liey/'to mix.'

V.3.2.2 Infixes

1. /-m-/ 'verbalization' ល្មើស /lmeeh/'to exceed; to violate' from /leeh/ 'beyond.'

2. /-ɔŋ-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. បន្ទាស /bɔŋʔaal/'to frighten' from ខ្ទាស /phʔaal/'afraid.'

b. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. ដំបូង /dɔmbouŋ/'first' from /tbouŋ/'head (archaic).'

/-ɔŋ-/ follows the pronunciation rules given in N.3.1.1 prefix 1.

3. /-ɔm-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. សម្អាត /sɔmʔaat/'to clean up' from ស្អាត /sʔaat/'clean.'

b. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ចំលង /cɔmlɔŋ/'to copy' from ឆ្លង /clɔŋ/'to cross.'

4. /-ɔmn-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. កំណត់ /kɔmnɔt/'to require' from កត់ /kɔt/'to take notes.'

V.3.3 Compound Verbs

Compounding is considerably less extensive for verbs than for nouns. There are uncentered and centered verbal compounds (cf. N.3.2).

V.3.3.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are two types of uncentered compound verb; those in which both components are meaningful and those in which neither element is meaningful alone. The first type is the coordinate compound, in which both components are verbal, e.g. ពិនិត្យមើល/pinit-meel/'to inspect' from ពិនិត្យ /pinit/'to examine' and មើល /meel/'to look at.' The second type involves some form of partial reduplication--rhyming or alliteration, e.g. ខ្ទិចខ្ទាស /pdeeh-pdaah/'disorganized, trivial, mischievous' in which neither ខ្ទិច /pdeeh/ nor ខ្ទាស /pdaah/ has independent meaning. For the most part, members of this second class are adjectives.

V.3.3.2 Centered Compounds

There are also two types of centered compound verb. The first kind is a combination of verb and noun, e.g. អរគុណ /ɔɔ-kun/'thank you' from អរ /ɔɔ/'happy, pleased' and គុណ 'merit, moral credit.' The second kind involves some form of partial reduplication of a meaningful head by rhyming or alliteration, e.g. ស្រួលបួល /sruol buol/'comfortable' from ស្រួល /sruol/'easy' and the rhyming component បួល /buol/, which has no independent meaning. Most members of the partially reduplicating class are adjectives.

ADVERBIALS

A.1 Introduction

Cambodian adverbials are members of the following classes:

1. Negators
2. Preverbals
3. Particles
4. Ordinary Adverbs

In addition, there are three words which combine with adjectives to form adverbial phrases.

A.2 Negators

The word for 'no' in answer to a question is ទេ /tee/. In polite speech it is preceded by a response particle បាទ /baat/(used by males) or ចា /cah/(used by females), e.g.

Q. លោកស្រីដឹងទេ?	A. ចា, ទេ
look srɛy dəŋ tee?	cah tee
Do you know, (Madame)?	No (I don't).

There are three preverbal negators, ពុំ /pum/, មិន /mɨn,m/, and អត់ /ot/ (តិត /ət/ is also used for អត់). ពុំ /pum/ is the most literary and seldom heard in speech; មិន /mɨn/ is used in speaking, but in Phnom Penh it is used usually in fairly formal contexts. អត់(តិត) /ot/ is the usual negator used in speaking in Phnom Penh. All of these precede the word they negate.

If a nominal is preceded by a negator, the construction is negator + មែន /mɛɛn/ + noun, e.g. មិនមែនខ្ញុំទេ /mɨn mɛɛn khñom tee/'It's not me.' ជា /cia/'is'/ is also negated by មិនមែន /mɨn mɛɛn/, e.g. នេះមិនមែនជាសាច់គោ /nih mɨn mɛɛn cia sac koo/'This isn't beef.' When គឺ /kɨɨ/'is' is negated, it is also replaced by មិនមែន /mɨn mɛɛn/, e.g. នេះមិនមែនសុខ, សួននឹងសុសទេ /nih mɨn mɛɛn sok, suon, nɨŋ sos tee/'This isn't Sok, Suon, and Sos.' The negators + មែន/mɛɛn/ are also used to mean 'it is not the case that...', e.g. ខ្ញុំអត់មែនថាអញ្ចឹងទេ /khnom ot mɛɛn thaa əñcəŋ tee/. 'It is not the case that I said that.'

Ordinarily, if a negator precedes a verb phrase, the verb phrase is followed by ទៃ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទៃ
/khñom mɨn dəŋ tee/
I don't know.

A stronger statement is made by substituting ទសោះ /sɔh/'at all' for ទៃ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទសោះ
/knñom mɨn dəŋ sɔh/
I don't have any idea; I don't know at all.

If there is an indirect question, ទៃ may follow either the negated verb or the indirect question, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទៃ, គាត់នៅឯណា។
/knñom mɨn dəŋ tee, kɔ́t nɨw aɛnaa/

or

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងគាត់នៅឯណាទៃ។
/knñom mɨn dəŋ, kɔ́t nɨw aɛnaa tee/
both of which mean 'I don't know where he is.'

The verb មាន /mian/'there is; to have' has a special negative form ក្មាន /kmian/'there is not; to not have', e.g.

ខ្ញុំក្មានលុយទៃ។
/khnom kmian luy tee/
I haven't any money.

Where មាន /mian/ is used as an auxiliary (cf. V.2.1.1), ក្មាន may also be used, e.g.

ក្មានកេលកម្ហូបនៅម្នឹងទៃ។
/kmian kee lúʔ mhoup nɨw nɨŋ tee/
They don't sell food there.

In spoken usage, ក្មាន /kmian/ is also used like the general negators, e.g.

ខ្ញុំគ្មានដឹងទេ។

/khñom kmian dəŋ tee/

I don't know.

also means 'without', translating both the English preposition and conjunction, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅគ្មានហិបតិវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tɨw kmian həp ɛyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

អត់ /ɔt/ is used in the same way, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅអត់ហិបតិវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tɨw ɔt həp ɛyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

In a negative imperative, the negator is កុំ /kom/'don't', e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹង។

/kom niyiey əñcəŋ/

Don't talk like that, don't say that.

The expression 'don't ever' is usually translated កុំ... ឲយសោះ/kom...aoy sɔh/, e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹងឲយសោះ។

/kom niyiey əñcəŋ aoy sɔh/

Don't ever say that!

(There are other ways to say 'don't ever' which you will learn as you study Cambodian further.) មិនសូវ /mɨn səw/ is a mild negative 'not very, not so', e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនសូវចូលចិត្តគាត់។

/khñom mɨn səw coulcət kɔ́t/

I don't like him very much.

A.3 Preverbals

There are two groups of preverbal adverbs: 1) fixed preverbals, which occur only in preverbal position, and 2) non-fixed preverbals, which may also occur in other positions, e.g. preceding the subject of the sentence.

In both classes, some members include the suffix ទៀត /tae/. In some cases ទៀត is optional, e.g. ស្រួចៗទៀត/craen tae/'mostly' which is synonymous with ស្រួចៗ /craen/ 'mostly.' Where it is optional, ទៀត is written in parentheses, e.g. ស្រួចៗ(ទៀត)/craen/(tae)/'mostly.' In cases where ទៀត is obligatory, it is ordinarily because it makes an adverb from a verb of different meaning, e.g. ចេះទៀត /cəh tae/'always,' in which ចេះ /cəh/ is 'to know how to.' Obligatory ទៀត /tae/ is written without parentheses. Some preverbal adverbs include an optional ទេ /cia/, e.g. ប្រាកដ(ទេ) /muk(cia)/'probably.'

A.3.1 Fixed Preverbals

The common fixed preverbals are:

កាន(ទៀត)	/kan(tae)/'increasingly'
ក្រាន(ទៀត)	/krɔn(tae)/'only, just'
ជិត	/cət/'almost, nearly'
ទើប(ទៀត)	/təəp(tae)(nɨŋ)/'to have just'
មានទៀត	/mian tae/'there is no choice but to'
រវល់(ទៀត)	/rovɨl(tae)/'busily'
រឹត(ទៀត)	/rɨt(tae)/'only, just'
រៀប(ទៀត)	/riəp(tae)/'to be about to, planning to'
ស្ទើរ(ទៀត)	/stəə(tae)/'almost'
អាសន្ន(ទៀត)	/aalay(tae)/'busy at'

An example:

ខ្ញុំទើបមកដល់
/khñom təəp mɔɔ/

I have just arrived.

A.3.2 Non-fixed Preverbals

The common non-fixed preverbals are:

ប្រាកដ(ទៀត)	/kuŋ(tae)/'certainly'

ចំណាំ(តែ) /cɔmnam(taɛ)/'usually'

ភ្រៃន(តែ) /craən(taɛ)/'mostly'

តែង(តែ) /taɛŋ(taɛ)/'usually, always'

ប្រហែល(ជា)/prɔhaɛl(cia)/'perhaps, maybe'

មុន(ជា) /muk(cia)/'certainly, probably'

មុន(តែ) /muk(taɛ)/'certainly, probably'

ភមែង(តែ) /romɛɛŋ(taɛ)/'usually'

សុទ្ធតែ /sot taɛ/'purely, exclusively'

ស្រាប់(តែ)/srap(taɛ)/'suddenly'

For example:

ខ្ញុំប្រហែលជាទៅស្អែកៗ
/khñom prɔhaɛl cia tɨw sʔaɛk/

Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

or

ប្រហែលជាខ្ញុំទៅស្អែកៗ
/prɔhaɛl cia khñom tɨw sʔaɛk/

Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

A.4 Particles

There are four types of particle: hesitation, response, medial, and final.

A.4.1 Hesitation Particles

The hesitation particles used in Cambodian are:

អាដេញ /ədeeñ/(prenominal) អា /aa/(prenominal)

តែណ /naɛ/(preverbal)[1] ឥអី /əɨ/(preverbal)

Hesitation is also shown in frequent repetition of the same word.

1. Also used before a sentence.

Examples:

ខ្ញុំគិត...អ្វើ.មិនឃើញ /khnom kɨt...əɨ...mɨn khəəñ/'I can't think of anything.'

ខ្ញុំរក...អាឌេញ...សំបុត្រគេ /khnom roɓ...adeeŋ...sɔmbot kee/'I'm looking for, uh, their letter.'

គាត់...ណែ...និយាយអញ្ជឹង /kɓt...nae...niyiey əñcəŋ/'That's...uh... what he said.

Before an utterance, Cambodians will attract the attention of the hearer with words like ណេះ /nɛh/, ណែ /naɛ/, មើលៃ /məəh/, or by using the hearer's name or his title, e.g.

ណែ! មកនេះ /naɛ! mə nih/'Hey! Come here!'

លោក! គិតធ្វើអ្វី? /look! kɨt thəə ɛy?/'Sir! What are you planning to do?'

ណេះ/neh/, ណែ /nae/, and មើលៃ /məəh/ are used with people with whom one is on familiar terms.

A.4.2 Response Particles

When a Cambodian answers a question or simply wishes to indicate that he has been listening, he uses one of the following response particles:

បាទ /baat/(polite, used by males)

ចាស /cah/(polite, used by females)

អើ /aə/ or អ្វើ /ɨɨ/(intimate or used with social inferiors).

An affirmative response to a question may consist only of a response particle, or it may include a longer answer, e.g.

Q: លោកដឹងទេ
/look dəŋ tee/
Do you know (it)?

A: បាទ ((ខ្ញុំ) ដឹង)
/baat ((khñom) dəŋ)/
Yes (I do).

A polite negative response particle precedes the negative ទេ /tee/'no' in polite speech (cf. A.2 above).

A.4.3 Medial Particles

There are two common medial particles in Cambodian: ក៏ /kɔɔ/ and នូវ /nəw/. Neither is translatable into English.

ក៏ /kɔɔ/ is used before a clause or a verb phrase with something like the meaning of 'accordingly, then, so, and so.' In fact, its function is to introduce a predicate which is in some way related to what has come before. For example:

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់ស្នរទៅគ្រូ គ្រូក៏ប្រាប់ទៅគេថា ហើយកូនសិស្សក៏ឈប់ស្នរ។ /koun seh mənéʔ suo tɨw kruu...kruu kɔɔ prap tɨw kee thaa...haəy kounseh kɔɔ chup suo/

'A student asks the teacher...(and) the teacher tells him.... and (so) the student stops asking.'

The teacher's telling is a consequence of the student's question, and the student stops asking because of what the teacher told him. In another example we see that the subject of the verb phrase introduced by ក៏ need not change.

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់យល់សំណួរក៏ឆ្លើយថា។
/koun seh mənéʔ yúl sɔmnuo kɔɔ chlaəy thaa/

'One of the students understands the question and answers:'

ក៏ as a verb phrase introducer is even clearer in the sentence-initial phrase ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /kɔɔ pɔntaɛ/'however,' e.g. ខ្ញុំដឹង, ក៏ប៉ុន្តែខ្ញុំមិនចង់ទៅទេ /khñom dəŋ kɔɔ pɔntaɛ khñom mɨn cɔŋ tɨw tee/'I know. However, I don't want to go.'

ក៏ is also used in a great many other important structures and idioms, e.g. question word plus ក៏បាន /kɔɔ baan/, as in ធ្វើអីក៏បាន /thaa ɛy kɔɔ baan/'(You) can do anything' or ឯណាក៏បាន/aɛnaa kɔɔ baan/'anywhere is O.K.' It can be analyzed as keeping its basic meaning in such constructions.

The other medial adverbial is នូវ /nəw/, which occurs only in literary or highly formal spoken style. It marks an object of a verb or relator, almost always the direct object of a verb, especially when a temporal or locative phrase precedes the object, e.g.

គ្រូស្នរទៅកូនសិស្សនូវសំណួរទាំងឡាយ។
/kruu suo tɨw kounseh nəw sɔmnuo téŋ laay/
The teacher asked the students the question.

A.4.4 Final Particles

There is a set of very important particles that is used at the end of a phrase, clause, or sentence. This set includes the following:

a. ណាស់ /nah/ 'very'

b. ទៅ /tɨw/ 'go ahead and...' (imperative); action away from the speaker; extended action

c. ចុះ /coh/ 'go ahead and... (it's O.K. with me)

d. មក /mok/ (action toward the speaker)

e. ហើយ /haey/ 'already'

ហើយ/haey/ indicates action whose termination has an effect on the present; it translates English auxiliary 'have' as in

ខ្ញុំមើលភាពយន្តហ្នឹងហើយ។

/khñom mael kon nɨŋ haey/

I've seen that movie (already).

It is close in meaning to 'already' in some non-standard immigrant English, e.g. 'That's right already,' which is translated almost literally into standard Cambodian ត្រូវទៅហើយ /trɔw haey/'right!' In a negative sentence ហើយ /haey/ is replaced by ទៅទើប /nɨw laey/ with a meaning of 'so far, ever'; e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនទាន់មើលភាពយន្តហ្នឹងទៅទើបនៅឡើយ។

/khñom mɨn tɔn mael kon nɨŋ nɨw laey/

I haven't seen that movie (so far).

In a future context there is a use of ហើយ/haey/ which indicates completion only in a remote sense, e.g. the second ហើយ in

ស្អែកខ្ញុំធ្វើរួចហើយ។

/s?aek khñom thee haey haey/

tomorrow I do finish already

I'll finish (it) tomorrow.

In this example the first ហើយ indicates completion of the act, but the

second connotes a promise to perform the action. What the second ហើយ/haəy/ makes of the sentence is 'tomorrow I'll finish it - and now it's no longer an issue for further discussion.'

f. ទេ /tee/ 1) marks a yes/no question, e.g.

យើងញ្ញុំបាយតិចឯទៃទេ?

/yeəŋ ñam ɛyləw tee?/

Will we eat now?

The particle is not obligatory, but it is much more often used than not.

2) occurs with a general negator (cf. A.2) in a negative sentence, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ។

/khñom mɨn dəŋ tee/

I don't know.

Again, it is not obligatory, but it is very frequent.

3) marks a statement which in some way is contradictory to what has come before, e.g.

A. លោកទៅហើយ។

/look tɨw haəy/

You've gone already.

B. ទេខ្ញុំទៅស្អែកទេ។

/tee khñom tɨw sʔaɛk tee/

No, I'm going tomorrow.

g. ឬ /rɨɨ/ or ឬទ្យើ /rɨɨ ɛy/ marks a question, often one for which an affirmative answer is anticipated (if the question is affirmative). A negative answer is anticipated if the question is negative, e.g.

គេកំពុងធ្វើបាយឬ?

/kee kɔmpuŋ thəə baay rɨɨ?/

Is he cooking?

(This question anticipates an answer 'yes.') Another example:

លោកមិនញ្ញុំប្ប?

/look mɨn ñam rɨɨ?/

Didn't you eat?

(This question expects an answer 'no.')

h. វិញ /viñ/'instead, back again,' e.g.

ឥឡូវសួរខ្ញុំវិញ។

/ɛyləw suo khñom viñ/

Now ask me (back again, in return).

Another example:

កុំប្រើឆ្នាំងនោះ, ប្រើអានេះវិញ។

/kom praə chnaŋ nuh, praə aa nih viñ/

Don't use that pan, use this one (instead).

វិញ is also used in constructions like ឯ... វិញ /ae...viñ/'as for,' e.g. ឯខ្ញុំវិញ/aɛ khñom viñ/'as for me...' and in idioms like ផ្ទុយទៅវិញ/phtuy tɨw viñ/ 'on the contrary.'

i. ណា៉ /naa/ or ណឹស/nə/ serves as a deferent or softened exhortation. Examples of ណា៉ /naa/:

នៅផ្ទះណា៉

/nɨw phtéh nə/

Let's stay home.

កុំទៅណាណា៉

/kom tɨw naa nə/

Don't go anywhere.

Note that there is a higher than normal pitch on the entire sentence and a rise on ណា៉ .

j. ទោក /peek/'too (much), very, exceedingly,' e.g. ប្រើនទោក/craən peek/ 'too much.'

k. សិន /sən/'first, for the time being.'

l. ដែរ /daɛ/'also.'

m. ផង /phɔɔŋ/'also; will you?'

ដែរ /daɛ/ and ផង /phɔɔŋ/ are both translated 'also.' However, in careful usage, ដែរ is used when A is doing something and B is doing it too, e.g.

គាត់ទៅផ្ទះ ហើយខ្ញុំទៅផ្ទះដែរ។

/kót tɨw phtéh haɵy khñom tɨw phtéh daɛ/

He's going home, and I'm going home too.

ផង, on the other hand, is used in two especially important places:

1) it is used when A is performing action X and action Y; that is, the same subject occurs with two or more different verb phrases, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅបង់ហើយទៅផ្សារផង។

/khñom tɨw bɔŋ haɵy tɨw phsaa phɔɔŋ/

I'm going to the bank and to the market as well.

2) ផង is also used when A and B are doing the same thing during the same period of time but B is a follower or a kind of junior partner, e.g.

A. ខ្ញុំទៅផ្សារតិចឡូវៗ

/khñom tɨw phsaa ɛyləw/

I'm going to the market now.

B. ខ្ញុំទៅផងបានទេ?

/khñom tɨw phɔɔŋ baan tee?/

Can I go too?

Note that ដែរ /daɛ/ makes no restriction on the time span covered the way ផង /phɔɔŋ/ does in usage number 2 above; ដែរ does not specify when the second person performs his similar action.

n. ទៀយ /laɵy/ 'no longer (not)...any more; at all; will never, don't ever'

o. ទៀត /tiet/ 'no longer, (not)...any more; further, more'

A.5 Adverb Formers

The adverb-forming words are ជា /cia/, ដោយ/daoy/, យ៉ាង/yaaŋ/, and ដ៏ /dɔɔ/. All are used with adjectives to make adverbial phrases, e.g. មានភ្ញៀវមកជាច្រើន /mian phñiew móo cia craən/ 'Guests came in large quantity.' The word ដ៏ /dɔɔ/ is limited to literary style.

Following an imperative verb, ទិយ/aoy/ also has adverbial meaning, e.g.

សុំមើលឲ្យច្បាស់ៗ
/som meəl aoy cbah/

Please read clearly.

Another example:

គេធ្វើឲ្យឆាប់ៗ
/kee thəə aoy chap/

They did it quickly.

Literally ឲ្យ + adjective means 'so that it will be...'

A.6 Ordinary Adverbs

Ordinary adverbs are formed by affixation and compounding. There are also a few root adverbs, e.g. ឥឡូវ /ɛyləw/'now.' For the most part, however, words translating English adverbs are adjectives. That is, they are verbs. They get the title of 'adverbs' because they can be used in syntactic positions like modifiers of verbs, e.g. គាត់មកឆាប់ណាស់ /kót móo chap nah/'He came very quickly.' ឆាប់ /chap/'quick, fast' is normally an adjective. The number of words used purely adverbially is very small.

A.6.1 Complex Adverbs

The only affix which forms adverbs is the reduplicating prefix /Co/ or /Co/ in which C is the first consonant of the base, e.g. ញ្ញាញ្ញ /ñoñó/'tremblingly, shakingly' from ញ្ញ /ñó/'to tremble, shiver.' In this case C is /ñ/, so the prefix is /ño/.

A.6.2 Compound Adverbs

There is one type of uncentered compound adverb: that is, a compound composed of two independent words, e.g. រួចហើយ /ruoc haəy/ from រួច /ruoc/'to be finished' and ហើយ /haəy/'already; to be finished.' There is also one type of centered compound adverb: that is, a compound in which all elements are meaningful, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃនេះ /sop thŋay nih/'nowadays, presently' from សព្វ /sop/'every' ថ្ងៃ /thŋay/'day' and នេះ /nih/'this.'

RELATORS

R.1 Introduction

There are two types of relators:

1. phrase relators, which connect words and phrases with each other and
2. clause relators, which connect clauses with each other.

R.2 Phrase relators

The two types of phrase relators are copulas and prepositions. Copulas connect two words or phrases, usually nominals, to make a clause; prepositions connect a following word, again usually a nominal or a noun phrase, to what precedes, but the result is not necessarily an independent unit.

R.2.1 Copulas

There are only three copulas. They are:

1. ជា /cia/, which is the most common copula. It may be interpreted as indicating that the subject is a member of the class of objects named by the predicate; that is, it says that the subject 'is a...' For instance,

នេះជាខ្មៅដៃ

/nih cia kmaw-day/

This is a pencil.

It is negated by មិនមែន /mɨn mɛɛn/, e.g.

នេះមិនមែនជាខ្មៅដៃទេ

/nih mɨn mɛɛn cia kmaw day tee/

This isn't a pencil.

2. គឺ /kɨɨ/, which may be used with the same meaning as ជា /cia/ except that where it is followed by more than one proper name it is obligatory, e.g.

នេះគឺសុខ, សួន, និងសុស

/nih kɨɨ sok, suon, nɨŋ soh/

This is Sok, Suon, and Sos.

គឺ /kɨɨ/ also means 'that is, that is to say,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំមកពីខែមកវាដល់ខែមិនា គឺបីខែ។

/khñom moóʔ pii khaɛ méʔkəraa dɔl khaɛ miinaa, kɨɨ bɛy khaɛ/

I'm coming from January to March, that is to say, three months.

ពោលគឺ/pool kɨɨ/ also means 'that is to say.'

3. គឺជា /kɨɨ cia/, which is used like ជា /cia/.

In some cases there is no copula at all, especially in predicates containing time words. For example

ថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃសៅរ៍

/thŋay nih thŋay saw/

Today is Saturday.

R.2.2 Prepositions

There are only a few words that can be classed as prepositions in Cambodian, though there are other means of translating English prepositions. The prepositions are:

ខុសតែ	/khoh taɛ/'except' (slang)
ក្រៅតែ	/kraw taɛ/'except'
ចៀសតែ	/cieh taɛ/'except' (slang)
លើកលែងតែ	/lɛək lɛɛŋ taɛ/'except'
ក្រោយពី	/kraoy (pii)/'after'
ក្លាចពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
ក្រៅពី	/kraw pii/'aside from, besides'
ក្រៅពី...ចេញ	/kraw pii...ceñ/'besides, aside from'
ជាង	/ciaŋ/'(more)than'
ជាមួយ	/ciamuoy/'with'
ជិត	/cɨt/'near'
ជុំវិញ	/cumviñ/'around'
ដោយសារ	/daoy saa/'because of'
ព្រោះ	/prúh/'because of'
ពីព្រោះ	/pii prúh/'because of'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ទាំង	/téŋ/'including'

ប្រាមទាំង	/próom téŋ/'including, as well as'
ទាល់ដែត	/tól taɛ/'until'
រហូតដល់	/rəhout dɔl/'until'
ផ្ទាល់	/phtól/'concerning, pertaining to'
ពី	/pii/'about, from'
រវាងពី	/ɔmpii/'about, from'
មុន(នឹង)	/mun (nɨŋ)/'before'
របស់	/rəbɔh/'belonging to'
រវាង	/roviaŋ/'between, during'
សម្រាប់	/sɔmrap/'for'
ស្មើ	/smaə/'equal to'
ដ	/aɛ/'at'

English prepositional phrases can also be translated by two types of Cambodian phrase which do not include prepositions:

1) a verb phrase which is attributive to what precedes, e.g.

ខ្ញុំធ្វើការដល់ដែស្អក
/khñom thəə kaa dɔl sʔaɛk/
I'll work until tomorrow,

in which the verb phrase ដល់ដែស្អក/dɔl sʔaɛk/'until tomorrow' includes the verb 'arrive at.' Thus, literally this sentence is 'I'll work (in such a way as to) arrive at tomorrow.' Verbs which are frequently used this way are:

ចំ	/cɔm/'to hit exactly, be on target'	'exactly at'
ដែឆ្វល	/chvaɛl/'to go around'	'around'
ដាប់	/cóp/'to adhere to'	'next to, adjacent to'
ជូន	/cuun/'to give (formal)'	'for, to'
ឲ្យ	/aoy/'to give (informal)'	'for, to'
ជួស	/cuoh/'to replace'	'instead of'
ជំនួស	/cumnuoh/'to replace'	'instead of'
ដល់	/dɔl/'to reach, arrive at'	'until'
ទំរាំ	/tumrɔ́m/'to endure'	'until'
ដូច	/douc/'to be alike, similar'	'like'

ដូចជា	/douccia/'to be similar to; seemingly'	'like'
តាម	/taam/'to follow'	'according to, following'
ទល់	/tŭl/'to support face to face'	'facing'
នៅ	/nɨw/'to be located at'	'at'
បន្ទាប់	/bontɔ́p/'to be next'	'next to, succeeding'
លើស	/leəh/'to exceed'	'more than, exceeding'
វិញ	/vĭŋ/'to go around, encircle'	'around'
ហួស	/huoh/'to pass'	'more than'

2) the locative nominals listed below may be used with or without the verb នៅ/nɨw/'to be located (at)', e.g.

គាត់ក្នុងផ្ទះ

/kɔ́t knoŋ phtĕh/

He's in the house.

or គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ

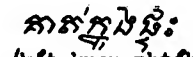
/kɔ́t nɨw knoŋ phtĕh/

with the same meaning. The locative nominals are;

កណ្តាល	/kɔndaal/'middle'	as a preposition;	'in the middle, between'
ក្នុង	/knoŋ/'interior'		'inside'
ក្បែរ	/kbaɛ/'area next to'		'next to'
ក្រោម	/kraom/'bottom'		'under'
ក្រោយ	/kraoy/'back part'		'behind'
ក្រៅ	/kraw/'outside'		'outside of'
ឆ្វេង	/chveeŋ/'the left side'		'to the left of'
មុខ	/muk/'face, front'		'in front of'
លើ	/ləə/'top'		'on top of, over'
ស្តាំ	/sdam/'the right side'		'to the right of'

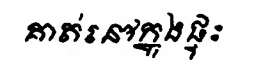
These nouns are frequently used as part of a compound containing ខាង /khaaŋ/ e.g. ខាងក្រោម /khaaŋ kraom/'the under part' (except ក្បែរ /kbaɛ/'next to,'

which is seldom used with ខាង /khaaŋ/). However, they may also be used alone as nominals in some circumstances. A sentence like



គាត់ក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kót knoŋ phtéh/
He's in the house,[1]

is therefore treated as a transform of a base sentence like



គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kót nɨw knoŋ phtéh/
He's in the house.

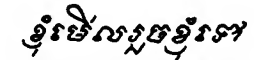
in which នៅ /nɨw/'to be at' is deleted.

R.3 Clause Relators

There are two types of clause relators, fixed and non-fixed.

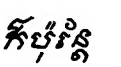
R.3.1 Fixed Clause Relators

A clause which contains a fixed clause relator can occur in only one position relative to the clause to which it is connected, for instance in



ខ្ញុំមើលរួចខ្ញុំទៅ
/khñom meel ruoc khñom tɨw/
I'll read, then I'll go,

the clause containing the fixed clause relator រួច /ruoc/'then' can occur only after the clause to which it is connected. Most of the words in this class correspond to coordinating conjunctions in English, and many can be used to connect nominals, e.g. ចេកឬស្វាយ /ceek rɨɨ svaay /'bananas or mangoes.' Relators of this second type are marked by a following symbol (N) below. The members of the class of fixed clause relators are:



ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /koɔ pontaɛ/'but, however'
ន៉ែ /taɛ/'but'

1. A more frequent meaning of this first sentence is 'the one in the house,' used of someone who is respected.

ប៉ុន្តែ	/pɔntaɛ/'but'
គឺ	/kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
គឺថា	/kɨɨ thaa/'that is' (N)
ដូចថា	/douc thaa/'that is' (N)
ទោសគឺ	/pool kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
ទើប	/təəp/'only then; not...until'
ចាន	/baan/'only then; not...until'
សឹម	/səm/'and (only) then'
រួច	/ruoc/'then' (N)
ហើយ	/haəy/'and' (N)
ហើយនឹង	/haəy nɨŋ/'and' (N)
ទៅរ៉ាមាន	/ɔt mian/'without...ing'

There are some fixed clause relators that occur in pairs:

...ក៏ដោយ... ក៏ដោយ	/...kɔɔ daoy...kɔɔ daoy/'whether...or...' (N)
...ក្តី... ក្តី	/...kdɛy...kdɛy/'whether...or...' (N)
កាលណា... កាលឯណោះ...	/kaal naa...kaal nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
ដរាបណា... ដរាបឯណោះ...	/dɔɔrap naa...dɔɔrap nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
ទោសណា... ទោសឯណោះ	/pəəl naa...pəəl nɨŋ/'whenever...then...'
ណាមួយ... ណាមួយ...	/naa muoy...naa muoy.../'on the one hand,...on the other hand...'
... ទាំង... ទាំង	/...phɔɔŋ...phɔɔŋ/'both...and'
ទាំង... ទាំង...	/téŋ...téŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
ទាំង... ទើយនឹង...	/téŋ...haəy nɨŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
...បន្ទាន់... បន្ទាន់	/...bɔndaə...bɔndaə/'both...and...(at the same time)'
ទម៉ិច... ទម៉ិច...	/mec...mec.../'if...then why...?'
ទម្តិច... ទម្តិច...	/mdec...mdec.../'if...then why...?'
ឬ... ឬ...	/rɨɨ...rɨɨ.../'either...or...' (N)

R.3.2 Non-fixed Clause Relators

The clause in which a non-fixed clause relator occurs may occur either before or after the clause to which it is connected, e.g.

ទើបគេមានលុយ គេទិញឡាន

/baə kee mian luy, kee tiñ laan/

If they have the money, they will buy a car,

or

គេទិញឡានបើគេមានលុយ

/kee tiñ laan baə kee mian luy/

They will buy a car if they have the money.

R.3.2.1 Temporal Clause Relators

Clause relators which indicate time relations are:

1) Used in past, present, and future context:

ក្នុងពេល	/knoŋ peel/'when; while'
ពេលដែល	/peel daɛl/'when; while'
ក្រោយ(ពី)	/kraoy(pii)/'after'
ក្រូចពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
ដែល់	/dɔl/'when'
ដែល់ពេលដែល	/dɔl peel daɛl/'when'
នៅពេល	/nɨw peel/'when'
លុះ	/luh/'when'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ពេលណា	/peel naa/'when, whenever'
មុន(នឹង)	/mun(nɨŋ)/'before'

2) Used in a past context only:

កាល	/kaal/'when (past)'
កាលពី	/kaal pii/'when (past)'

3) Used in a non-past context only:

កាលណា	/kaal naa/'when, whenever'
កាលណាបើ	/kaal naa baə/'when, whenever'
បើកាលណា	/baə kaal naa/'when, whenever'

4) Used only in a future context:

ទំរាំ	/tumrɔ́m/'when (future)'
ទំរាំដែល់	/tumrɔ́m dɔl/'when (future)'

R.3.2.2 Non-Temporal Clause Relators

កុំទិយ	/kom aoy/'in order that not, so that not'
កុំទិយរឹត	/kom aoy taɛ/'so long as not, provided that not, on the condition that not,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំរៀកុំទិយរឹតវារៀ។

/khñom tɨw kom aoy taɛ via tɨw/

I'll go only if he doesn't.

រឺក្រង	/kraɛŋ/'lest, for fear that'
រក្រាពី	/kraw pii/'aside from the fact that'
ខ្លាច	/khlaac/'lest, for fear that'
ជំនួស	/cumnuoh/'instead of the fact that'
ដូច(ដា)	/douc(cia)/'as if'
រដីម្បី	/daəmbɛy/'in order that'
រដីម្បីទិយ	/daəmbɛy aoy/'so that, in order that'
រដាយ	/daoy/'given the fact that'
រដាយសារ	/daoy saa/'because of the fact that'
ត្បិត(រឹត)	/dbət(taɛ)/'because; although'
ទាល់រឹត	/tɔ́l taɛ/'until'
ទំរាំ	/tumrɔ́m/'until; only if, provided that'
ទាស់រឹត...កុំសិ	/tɔ́h taɛ...kom ɛy/'if it were not for the fact that...'
ទុកបីដា	/tuk bɛy cia/'even though; if not...then'
ទុកបើ(ដា)	/tuk baə(cia)/'even though; if not...then'
ទោះ	/tɔ́h/'although, even though'
ទោះដា	/tɔ́h cia/'even though, although'
ទោះបីដា	/tɔ́h bɛy(cia)/'even though, although'
ទោះបើ	/tɔ́h baə/'even though, although'
ទោះបើ(ដា)	/tɔ́h baə(cia)/'even though, although'
ហានដា	/baan cia/'the reason why,' e.g.

វាបញ្ជឹសុយរៀហានដាវាទទួលសំបុត្រ។

/via phñaə luy tɨw baan cia via tətuol səbot/

The reason he got a letter is that he sent money.
(Literally, 'He sent money to (them) is why he got a letter.')

ហានដា /baan cia/ is usually used in a past context.

បើ	/baə/'if'
បើសិន	/baə sən/'if'
បើសិនណា	/baə sən naa/'if'
បើសិនណាដា	/baə sən naa cia/'if'
បើសិនដា	/baə sən cia/'if'
(ពី)ប្រាះ	/(pii) prûh/'because'
លុះត្រាតែ	/luh traa taɛ/'only if, provided that, only on condition that,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅលុះត្រាតែវាទៅ។

/khñom tɨw luh traa taɛ via tɨw/

I'll go only if he does.

សម្រាប់	/sɔmrap/'for the purpose of'
សូម្បី(តែ)	/soum bɛy(taɛ)/'although, even though'
ហេតុតែ	/haɛt taɛ/'just because'
ឧយ	/aoy/'so that'
ឧយតែ	/aoy taɛ/'as long as, provided that'

VOCABULARY AND USAGE

U.1 Introduction

One of the biggest problems you will meet in your study of Cambodian is the fact that in many cases there will not be a one-to-one fit between Cambodian and English words. This is for two major reasons.

First, Cambodian and English-speaking societies are very different from each other; even as basic a factor as geography is widely different. English is spoken largely in temperate-climate countries; Cambodians live in a tropical land. Western technologies, philosophies, historical experiences, and religions are very different from those of Southeast Asia. Take food, for example. To a middle-class American, a meal consists usually of meat and vegetable, accompanied by some sort of carbohydrate, and perhaps dessert. To a Cambodian, especially a less affluent one, a meal is rice, generally accompanied by a much smaller amount of meat and vegetables than an American considers essential. This difference is reflected in the Cambodian word that comes closest to the English word 'meal': បាយ /baay/literally 'cooked rice.' In English we cook food; in Cambodian a housewife must ធ្វើបាយ /thəə baay/'make rice' several times a day.

The second reason is the fact that people from various linguistic backgrounds slice up their perceived environment in different ways. That is, to a Cambodian, for example, a nuclear family consists of one's parents and one's older and younger siblings; to an American, on the other hand, the nuclear family is one's parents and one's male and female siblings--at least as far as the respective languages are concerned:

English words for 'sibling'	Cambodian words for 'sibling'	
brother	បង	/bɔɔŋ/'older sibling'
sister	ប្អូន	/p?oun/'younger sibling'

In English the age distinction and in Cambodian the sex distinction can be expressed by adding an attributive word, e.g. 'older' in the English 'older brother' or ស្រី /srəy/ 'female' in the Cambodian បងស្រី /bɔɔŋ srəy/'older sister.'

A more extreme example of the difference in emphasis expressed in the kinds of distinctions made in the vocabulary of the two languages is the word 'cut.' In English there is one word 'cut' that can be used to cover many situations, all of which are so different to a Cambodian speaker that not only can he use a different word for

each situation, he must do so. Some of the Cambodian words for 'cut' are

កាត់	/kat/	to cut with scissors, to cut in two
ហាន់	/han/	to slice
មុត	/mut/	to cut oneself
កាប់	/kap/	to chop (e.g. wood), to hack
ឆៀរ	/cie/	to trim all around
ឫចិប	/crəp/	to trim in spots
ឫចូត	/crout/	to cut grain in order to harvest
ចិញ្ចាំ	/cəñcram/	to chop up, to dice

To be sure, English has variants on 'cut' that correspond to some of these Cambodian words. However, 'cut' can be used in all cases to cover the basic idea; in Cambodian there is no single word.

This kind of thing happens the other way too. In Cambodian ឡើន /rien/ means both 'study' and 'learn.' For you to distinguish between the two meanings to which you are accustomed when you speak Cambodian, you will have to either rely on context to clarify your meaning or will have to add additional words, e.g. ឡើនឆេ /rien ceh/ 'to learn,' literally 'to study (and) know.'

This all means that not only will you have to learn structural patterns and words, but you will have to learn about Cambodian history, culture, customs, and attitudes before you are really in control of the language. It is not enough to know that ឡាយ /baay/ means 'cooked rice;' you must also learn that ឡាយ /baay/ means 'meal' and in some--but not all--cases, 'food.' Furthermore, to really know Cambodian and to use even a simple word like ឡាយ effectively, you should know what the social significance of rice is, and the role it plays in the non-meal-time life of the Cambodian people.

The rest of this section will discuss some specific vocabulary problems; the kinship system and the vocabulary used in specific types of social situation.

U.2 Cambodian Kinship

In Cambodian family relations, the most important factor is relative age. Respect is due members of the family who are older or of a higher generation; indeed, respect is due any older person. This affects the way various family members are addressed and the way they are discussed.

Ordinarily a member of a generation older than the speaker is referred to by the third-person pronoun អ្នក /kɔ́t/; the honorific particle អញ្ជើញ /əñceəñ/ is used before verbs when the subject of the sentence refers to such a person, and formal-level vocabulary is used (cf. U.3.1). Note that when one marries into a family, one takes the same position as one's spouse, even though one may be older than some of the spouse's older relatives. For example a man calls all his wife's older siblings បង /bɔɔŋ/ even if he is older than they.

The kinship terms listed and described below are extremely important. You will need to know them to address many of the Cambodians you meet, especially those who are the same age, younger, or of similar or lower social status. After the kinship terms themselves are introduced, their application to non-relatives will be presented.

In the following tables, the term 0-generation means those relatives who are the same generation as the person in question. Plus 1 generation means first ascending generation, or those relatives of the same generation as the person's parents; minus 1 generation means first descending generation, or the person's children's generation. Plus 2 generation is the grandparents' generation, etc.

Title		0 Generation	Addressed as:	3rd-person pronoun
បង	bɔɔŋ	older sibling	បង /bɔɔŋ/	អ្នក /kɔ́t/
ប្អូន	p'oun	younger sibling	ប្អូន /p'oun/, ប៊ុ អូន /oun/, ណង /aɛŋ/, name, or name + ណង	គេ /kee/, វា /via/
បងជីដូនមួយ	bɔɔŋ ciidoun muoy	first cousin (older)	បង /bɔɔŋ/	like បង
ប្អូនជីដូនមួយ	p'oun ciidoun muoy	first cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
បងជីតូនមួយ	bɔɔŋ ciituot muoy	second cousin (older)	បង /bɔɔŋ/	like បង
ប្អូនជីតូនមួយ	p'oun ciituot muoy	second cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
related by marriage:				
ប្ដី	pdɛy	husband	បង /bɔɔŋ/, បងណង /bɔɔŋ aɛŋ/	អ្នក /kɔ́t/
ប្រពន្ធ	pəpun	wife	អូន /oun/, អូនណង /oun aɛŋ/	អ្នក /kɔ́t/, គេ /kee/

Title				Addressed as:	3rd-person pronoun
បងថ្លៃ ប្អូនថ្លៃ	bɔɔŋ thlay pʔoun thlay	1	spouse's sibling or sibling's spouse, respectively, older and younger	បង /bɔɔŋ/ and ប្អូន /pʔoun/	like បង and ប្អូន
បងសាច់ថ្លៃ ប្អូនសាច់ថ្លៃ	bɔɔŋ sac thlay pʔoun sac thlay	1	sibling of sibling's spouse, respectively older and younger	បង /bɔɔŋ/ and ប្អូន /pʔoun/	like បង and ប្អូន
ដិន្លង	dɔnlɔɔŋ		parent of child's spouse	/dɔnlɔɔŋ/	/kɔ́t/

+1 Generation

			Addressed as:[2]
ឌ្ឌិពុក	əwpuk	father	1) ជ្ជ /paa/ 2) លោកជ្ជ /look paa/, លោកឌ្ឌិពុក /look awpuk/ 3) ពុក /puk/ 4) ឌ្ឌ /əw/
ម្តាយ	mdaay	mother	1) ម្ជ /maʔ/ 2) លោកម្ជ /look maʔ/, អ្នកម្ជ /neʔ maʔ/, អ្នកវិម /néʔ maɛ/, អ្នកម្តាយ /néʔ mədaay/ 3,4) វិម /maɛ/
ឌ្ឌិពុកធំ អ៊ំ	əwpuk thom, om	parent's older brother	1) ជ្ជ អ៊ំ /paa om/ 2) លោកអ៊ំ /look om/ 3,4) អ៊ំ /om/
ម្តាយធំ អ៊ំ	mdaay thom, om	parent's older sister	1) ម្ជ អ៊ំ /maʔ om/ 2) លោកអ៊ំ /look om/ 3,4) អ៊ំ /om/
ឌ្ឌិពុកមា មា, ពូ	əwpuk mia, mia, puu	parent's younger brother	1) មា /mia/ 2) លោកមា /look mia/ លោកពូ /look puu/ 3,4) ពូ /puu/ 1,2,3,4) មា /mia/
ម្តាយមីង ម៉ីង	mdaay miiŋ, miiŋ	parent's younger sister	1) អ្នកមីង /néʔ miiŋ/ 2) លោកមីង /look miiŋ/ 3) មីង /miiŋ/ 4) អ៊ី /ʔii/

related by marriage:

ឌ្ឌិពុកកក្មក	əwpuk kmeek	father-in-law	see ឌ្ឌិពុក /əwpuk/
ម្តាយកក្មក	mdaay kmeek	mother-in-law	see ម្តាយ /mədaay/
ឌ្ឌិពុកធំសាច់ថ្លៃ	əwpuk thom sac thlay	older brother of parent-in-law	see ឌ្ឌិពុកធំ /əwpuk thom/

1. Some Cambodians do not distinguish in this way between បងប្អូនថ្លៃ /bɔɔŋ pʔoun thlay/ and បងប្អូនសាច់ថ្លៃ/bɔɔŋ pʔoun sac thlay/: សាច់ថ្លៃ /sac thlay/ may be simply a general term for in-laws, e.g. វាសាច់ថ្លៃទេ/via sac thlay tee/'They're just in-laws.' (Franklin Huffman, personal communication)

2. The numbers refer to the following groups: 1) urban, heavily influenced by French 2) urban, upper class, less French influence 3) urban, ordinary social status 4) rural

Title			Addressed as:
ម្តាយធំសាច់ថ្លៃ	medaay thom sac thlay	older sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយធំ /medaay thom/
ឪពុកមាសាច់ថ្លៃ	əwpuk mia sac thlay	younger brother of parent-in-law	see ឪពុក /əwpuk mia/
ម្តាយមីងសាច់ថ្លៃ	medaay miiŋ sac thlay	younger sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយមីង /medaay miiŋ/

All members of this generation are referred to by the pronoun គាត់ /kɔ́t/.

+2 Generation

Title			Addressed as:
ជីតា	ciitaa	male member of grandfather's generation	លោកតា /look taa/, តា /taa/
ជីដូន	ciidoun	female member of grandmother's generation	លោកយាយ /look yiey/, យាយ /yiey/, (rural) ដូន /doun/
(by marriage)			
ជីតាខ្មែក	ciitaa kmeek	male member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនខ្មែក	ciidoun kmeek	female member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+3 Generation

ជីតាទួត	ciitaa tuot	male member of great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនទួត	ciidoun tuot	female member of great grandfather's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+4 Generation

ជីតាស្នួត	ciitaa luot	male member of great-great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនស្នួត	ciidoun luot	female member of great-great grandmother's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

+5 Generation

ជីតាលា	ciitaa lia	male member of great-great-great grandfather's generation	see ជីតា /ciitaa/
ជីដូនលា	ciidoun lia	female member of great-great-great grandmother's generation	see ជីដូន /ciidoun/

In all cases the 3rd-person pronoun is គាត់ /kɔ́t/.

-1 Generation

Title			Addressed as:
កូន	koun	child	កូន /koun/, អានានាង /aanianŋ/, នាង /nianŋ/, name, អា /aa/ + name
ក្មួយ	kmuoy	niece or nephew	ក្មួយ /kmuoy/, អានានាង /aanianŋ/, នាង /nianŋ/, name or អា /aa/ + name
កូនប្រសា	koun prosaa	son or daughter-in-law	កូន /koun/; ស្រី /nɨʔ/ + name (male); name (female)

-2 Generation

ចៅ	caw	any member of grandchild's generation	ចៅ /caw/, អាចៅ /aacaw/; otherwise like កូន except that កូន/koun/ is not used
ចៅប្រសា	caw prosaa	grandchild-in-law	ចៅ /caw/; name

-3 Generation

ចៅទួត	caw tuot	any member of great-grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

-4 Generation

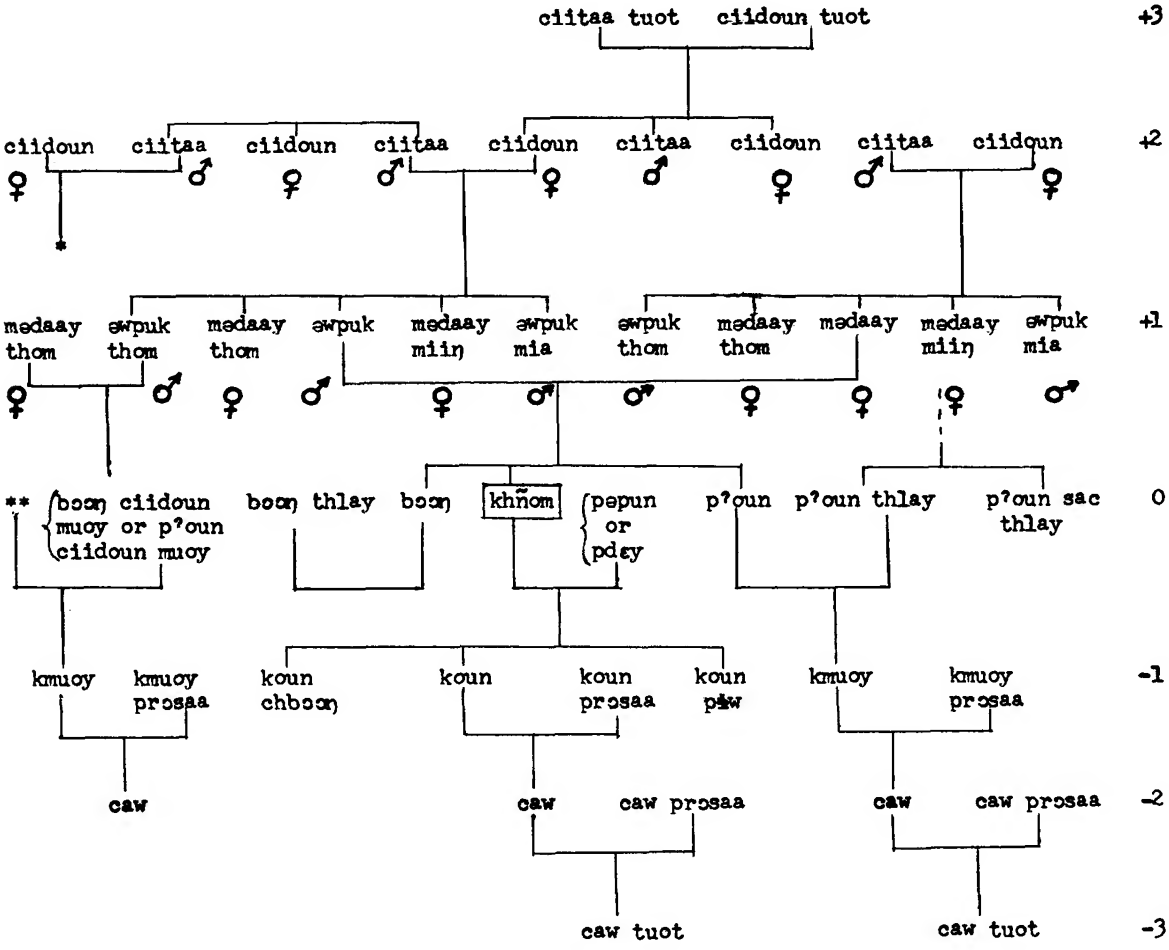
ចៅលួត	caw luot	any member of great-great grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

-5 Generation

ចៅលា	caw lia	any member of great-great-great grandchild's generation	see ចៅ /caw/

In all cases the 3rd-person pronouns are គេ /kee/ or វា /via/.

Cambodian Kinship



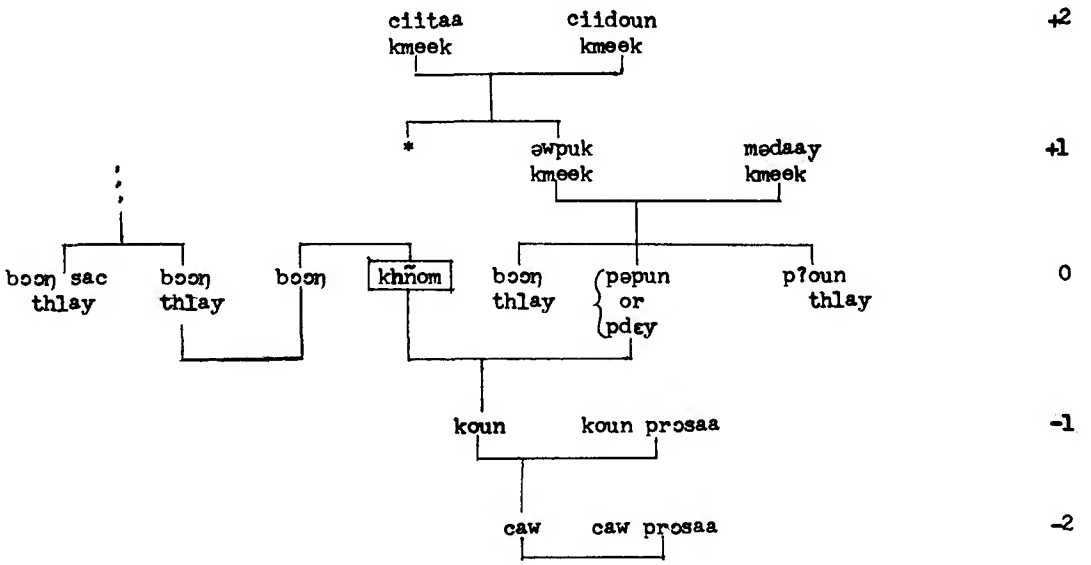
* ɐwpuk-mədaay thom/mia/miiŋ

** bɔɔŋ-p?oun cii doun muoy thlay

married

or descended from

Cambodian Kinship: In-Laws



* ɔwpuk-mɔdaay thom/mia/miiŋ sac thlay

U.3 The Effects of International Relations on Language

In relating to Cambodians, you will have to keep in mind that your identity does not remain stable. In English, you refer to yourself as 'I' in all cases, and you address others as 'you.' While in fact you don't relate to everyone in the same way, at least you have that much stability in your identity. However, even the way a Cambodian translates 'I' and 'you' shifts with almost every person he meets.

The term you have learned for 'I' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ will serve you as a foreigner in most contacts with urban Cambodians. However, a Cambodian learns how to use pronouns like អញ្ញ /añ/, kinship terms, and titles to refer to himself, depending on his sense of how he relates to his interlocutor.

When you address people you will have a harder time. Here you must come to think like a Cambodian, since there is no word for 'you' like ខ្ញុំ /khñom/'I' that you can rely on to be appropriate in most situations. You must become aware of the same kinds of distinctions as Cambodians are aware of; the biggest difference will be that Cambodians do it almost automatically; you will have to think about it for a long time

to come.

The problem is complicated by the fact that there are differences in usage between urban and rural speakers, between people from different parts of the country, and between urban people of different social classes. The following discussion cannot be exhaustive, but we will try to give you enough to start with. As you get the chance to associate with Cambodians, listen carefully to how they address and discuss each other and how they refer to themselves.

The first distinction we can make is the way you address and discuss people with whom you are on formal and non-formal terms. Within each of these categories further distinctions are made.

U.3.1 Formal Relations

Formal relationships obtain between you and royalty, clergy and commoners to whom you wish to show respect. Since 1970 and the declaration of the Khmer Republic, there is little need for terms referring to royalty in speech, but they are widely used in pre-1970 writings and in post-1970 writing that refers to the royalty of another country, e.g. the King of Laos or Thailand. They are also used in legends and folk stories and in histories.

Royalty and monks are addressed and discussed using not only 'pronouns' different from each other and from those used with high ranking commoners but also with vocabulary substitutions for many other common verbs and nouns, e.g. 'to eat;' royalty សាយ /saoy/, clergy ឆាន់ /chan/ and commoners to whom you want to show respect ពិសា /pisaa/. (There are other words that distinguish between people with whom you are not on formal terms, e.g. at mealtimes most urban people ញ្ញុំ /ñam/; children and animals and people whom you hold in contempt ស៊ី /sii/).

Pronoun Substitutes

Used to or about royalty

1st person

ទូលបង្គំ(ជា)ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ /tuul boŋkum (cia) khñom mcah/ (to king)

ទូលបង្គំ /tuul boŋkum/ (to other royalty)

ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ /khñom mcah/ (to other royalty)

ទូលបង្គំជាខ្ញុំ /tuul boŋkum cia khñom/ (to other royalty)

2nd person

ព្រះអង្ក /préh ɔŋ/ (to king or other royalty)

ម្ហាស់ /mcah/ (to other royalty)

3rd person

ព្រះអង្ក /préh ɔŋ/ (of any royalty)

Used by royalty

1st person

ទ្រង់ឆន្ញា /truŋ añ/ (king)

ម្ហាស់ /mcah/ (other royalty)

ម្ហាស់ខ្ញុំ /mcah khñom/ (other royalty)

2nd person

to commoner: លោក /look/ (to upper class commoner)

ឯង /aɛŋ/ (to lower class commoner)

អ្នក /néʔ/ (neutral class reference)

etc. according to social class (cf. N.1.2)

to royalty: ព្រះអង្ក /préh ɔŋ/

ម្ហាស់ /mcah/ + kinship terms (with older members of own family)

3rd person

of commoner: នក /kee/, កាត់ /kót/, ទា /via/,

according to social standing of referent

of royalty: ព្រះអង្ក /préh ɔŋ/

Used to or about clergy

1st person

ខ្ញុំ(ព្រះ)កុនណា /khñom (prə) kənna/

2nd person

ព្រះនតបិព្រះកុណ /prədacprəkun/

3rd person

លោក /look/

ព្រះអង្ក /préh ɔŋ/

ព្រះនតបិព្រះកុណ /prədacprəkun/ + name (used of high ranking monk)

Used by clergy

1st person

អាត្មា /atmaa/

2nd person

ញោម /ñoom/ (to parent and to acquaintance of parents' age) otherwise as listed below according to age and social status.

3rd person

វា /via/, គេ /kee/, គាត់ /kót/ or title as usual.

Used to or about commoners (with whom one is on formal terms)

1st person

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/

2nd person

លោក /look/ (used with males of equivalent or higher social status)

លោកស្រី /look srɛy/ (used with married females of higher social status and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women)

អ្នក /néʔ/ (used for older women of lower status and for one's mother in អ្នកម្តាយ /néʔ mədaay/'mother.')

អ្នកស្រី /néʔ srɛy/ (used with women of middle class, especially married women)

នាង /niaŋ/ (used with unmarried women or with married women of ordinary social status.)

កញ្ញា /kañña/ (used with unmarried women; quite formal)

Titles, e.g. លោកគ្រូ /look kruu/'(male) teacher' are also used in place of 2nd person pronouns.

3rd person

គេ /kee/ (used of people in general ('they say...'); people for whom respect need not be shown)

គាត់ /kót/ (used of individuals (singular or plural), especially those for whom one wishes to show respect)

U.3.2 Non-formal Relationships

Non-formal relationships obtain between you and people with whom you are on friendly or intimate terms or people of lower social status, especially servants and shopkeepers. It is in this kind of relationship that kinship terms are used extensively as second-person forms. (cf. also N.1.2)

1st person

1. ញ /añ/ (intimate or vulgar)
2. ខ្ញុំ /khñom (non-formal)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in intimate relations outside the family. (see below, under 2nd person)
4. យើង /yəəŋ/'we,' 'I'
5. គ /kee/, វា /via/ (used by people who know each other well)

2nd person

1. ឯង /aɛŋ/ (intimate or contemptuous)
2. Name of person addressed (intimate)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in non-formal relations outside the family, as follows.

Older: បង /bɔɔŋ/'older sibling' used with older siblings and acquaintances of equivalent or slightly greater age and of the same sex.

ជិច /cae/(Chinese) for female បង /bɔɔŋ/

ហ (ហ) /hia/(Chinese) for male បង /bɔɔŋ/

ពូ /puu/
ម /mia/
ចិក /cək/ (Chinese)
} 'uncle younger than parent' used with uncle younger than one's parent or a male acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker.

មីង /miiŋ/
អ /ii/ (Chinese)
} 'aunt younger than parent' used with aunt younger than one's parent or a female acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker.

	ឃំ /om/	'uncle or aunt older than parent' used with uncle or aunt older than parent or with acquaintance of parents' generation but older than parents.
	ចិក /cək/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for male ឃំ /om/
	ឈ /ii/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for female ឃំ /om/
	តា /taa/ (ជីតា /ciitaa/) ក្ងង /koŋ/ (Chinese)	'grandfather' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker. (One's grandfather is called រលាកតា /look taa/.
	ដូន /doun/ (ជីដូន /ciidoun/) យាយ /yiey/	'grandmother' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaken (One's grandmother is called (រលាក) យាយ /(look) yiey/.
Younger:	ប្អូន /p'oun/ ឆ្ងូន /oun/	'younger sibling' used with a younger sibling or younger acquaintance of any age
	ក្មួយ /khmuoy/	'nephew or niece' used with a nephew or niece or with a younger acquaintance of any age.
	នាង /niaŋ/	'child, miss' used with unmarried women, married women of ordinary social standing, and children under 20 or persons at least 10 years younger.

[illegible] /caw/ 'grandchild' used with grandchildren and children under 20 or persons at least 30 or so years younger.

A husband normally calls his wife [illegible] / oun/ (from [illegible] 'younger sibling'), and this is the first person 'pronoun' that the wife uses in talking to her husband. Conversely, the wife calls her husband [illegible] /bɔɔŋ/'older brother,' and he calls himself [illegible] /bɔɔŋ/ when addressing his wife.

3rd person

1. [illegible] /kót/ (used for people whom you know as individuals and for whom you feel respect)
2. [illegible] /kee/ (used for people in general, for people younger than you or lower in status)
3. [illegible] /via/ (used for animals, things, and small children; also [illegible] used to indicate contempt)

As noted at U.3, social relationships are expressed not only by pronoun substitutes, but also by choice of the proper verb where several are possible. Fortunately for the foreign learner, the verbs which must be selected according to social criteria are limited; they refer for the most part to such common activities as eating, sleeping, and speaking. A list of the most common is given below. In this list the designations of social level are as follows:

<u>Vulgar</u> means used to or about animals, children, people for whom one need not show much respect or for whom one feels contempt.

<u>Ordinary</u> means used to or about people with whom one is on informal terms but to whom it would be inappropriate to use a vulgar term.

<u>Formal</u> means used to or about people with whom one is on formal terms.

<u>Clerical</u> means used to or about a priest or monk.

<u>Royal</u> means used to or about royalty.

Motion verbs and a few other verbs which are not replaced by another verb at the three highest levels are preceded by an honorific: formal [illegible] /əñcəəñ/, clerical [illegible] /nimuń/, and royal [illegible] /trúŋ/.

For example:

[illegible]

/kót əñcəəñ móo haəy/

he (honorific) come already

He's come already.

If you were speaking of clergy, you would say

[illegible]

/look nimún móo haəy/

he (clergy)(honorific) come already

He's come already.

If you were speaking of royalty, you would say

[illegible]

/pre ɔŋ trúŋ yiaŋ móo haəy/

he (royalty)(honorific) go (royal) come already

He's come already.

(Note the change in the translation of 'he' in these three cases.) Even formal verbs like [illegible] /pisaa/'eat' may be preceded by one of the honorific particles, e.g.

[illegible]

/look əñcəəñ pisaa ɛy?/

sir (honorific) eat what

What are you eating?

In the following table of verb alternates there are numbers to indicate who may use certain forms. For example, you may not use [illegible] /pisaa/'eat' when talking of yourself; instead you must use [illegible]/tətuol tian/'eat' when you speak of yourself at the formal style level. Thus the following interchange is appropriate:

A: [illegible]	B: [illegible]
/look pisaa baay haəy rɨɨ nɨw/	/baat khñom tətuol-tien haəy/
sir eat rice already or not-yet	yes I eat already
Have you eaten yet?	Yes, I've eaten already.

The letter (a) means that the form is used in the first person, (b) means that it is used only in the second and third persons, and no letter means that it is used in all three persons.

There are also some nouns which are chosen according to similar considerations, e.g. ចង្ហាន់ /coŋhan/'monks' food' (from អាន់ /chan/'to eat (clerical).' Such nouns are much less frequent than the verbs and do not range through all the style levels.

TABLE

Style-Determined Verbs

	Vulgar	Ordinary	Formal	Clergy	Royalty
to eat	ស៊ី /sii/	ស៊ី /sii/ ញ៉ាំ /ñam/[3]	ភក្សា ទទួលទាន /pisaa/(b) /tətuol tian/(a)	ឆាន់ /chan/	ទ្រង់ស /saoy/
to go/ come	ទៅ /tɨw/	ទៅ /tɨw/	អញ្ជើញយាងទៅ /ənceeñ tɨw/	និមន្តទៅ /nimuñ tɨw/	យាងទៅ /yiaŋ tɨw/
	ម៉ក /móo/	ម៉ក /móo/	អញ្ជើញយាងម៉ក /ənceeñ móo/	និមន្តម៉ក /nimún móo/	យាងម៉ក /yiaŋ móo/
				និមន្ត /nimún/	យាង /yiaŋ/
to drink	ផឹក /phək/	ផឹក ញ៉ាំ /phək/ /ñam/[4]	ភក្សា ទទួលទាន /pisaa/(b) /tətuol tian/(a)	ឆាន់ /chan/	ទ្រង់ស /saoy/
to sleep	ដេក /deek/	ដេក គេង /deek/ /keeŋ/[5]	សម្រាន្ត ទទួលទានដំណេក /səmran/(b) /tətuol tian dəmneek/(a)	សីង /seŋ/	ផ្ទំ /phtum/
to be born	កើត /kaət/	កើត /kaət/	កើត /kaət/	កើត /kaət/	ប្រសូត កើត /prosout/(b) /kaət/(a)
to die	ងាប់ /ŋóp/	ងាប់ ស្លាប់ ឈឺ /ŋóp/ /slap/ /khouc/(b)	ស្លាប់ មរណៈ អស័ដ្ឋិតិ ឥន្ទ្រិយ /slap/ /morona?/(b) /ɔh ciwit/ /phot ciwit/	សុគត ស្លាប់ /sokŭt/(b) /slap/(a)	សុគត ស្លាប់ /sokŭt/(b) /slap/(a)

3. ស៊ី /sii/ and ហូប /houp/ are used in areas outside of Phnom Penh; in such areas ញ៉ាំ /ñam/ is used only in the family with children. However, in Phnom Penh, the usual word is ញ៉ាំ /ñam/.

4. Cf. note 3. ផឹក is used like ស៊ី ; ញ៉ាំ is used more in Phnom Penh than in the provinces.

5. Cf. note one. ដេក is used like ស៊ី ; គេង is used in Phnom Penh for adults, elsewhere for children.

	Vulgar	Ordinary	Formal	Clergy	Royalty
to look/ read	/məəl/	/məəl/	/aan/	/məəl/ /aan/	/tóot/(b) /məəl/(a)
to invite	/haw/ /prap/	/haw/	/əñceəñ/(b) /haw/(a)	/nimún/	/yiaŋ/(b) /haw/(a)
to live, stay	/nɨw/	/nɨw/	/nɨw/	/kúŋ/ /nɨw/(a)	/kúŋ/(b) /nɨw/(a)
to give	/aoy/	/aoy/	/cuun/(b) /aoy/(a)	/prɔkeen/	/thvaay/
to set	/ɔŋkuy/	/ɔŋkuy/	/ɔŋkuy/	/kúŋ/(b) /ɔŋkuy/(a)	/kúŋ/(b) /ɔŋkuy/(a)
to speak	/niyiey/	/niyiey/	/mian prɔsah/(b) /niyiey/(a)	/mian putdɛy-kaa/(b) /niyiey/(a)	/mian bɔntuul/(b) /niyiey/(a)
to sign	/siñ̃ñee/	/siñ̃ñee/	/coh hattəleekha/	/coh hattə-leekha/	/laay prə hɔh/(b) /siñ̃ñee/(a)
to think	/kɨt/	/kɨt/	/rɨhkɨt/	/kɨt/	/trúŋ prɛ̃h dɔmrih/ /prɛ̃h dɔmrih/(b) /kɨt/(a)
to walk	/daə/	/daə/	/əñceəñ daə/(b) /daə/(a)	/nimún daə/(b) /daə/(a)	/yiaŋ daoy prɛh baat/(b) /daə/(a)

APPENDIX A

Summaries of Some Important Words

X.1 Summary of ជាន /baan/:

1. 'to get':

ខ្ញុំចង់ជានលុយ។

/khñom coŋ baan luy/

I want (to get) some money.

2. 'to experience something desirable, to get to':

វាជានរដ្ឋិការដ្ឋិយទិយរៀរៀន។

/via baan rótte kaa cuoy aoy tɨw rien/

He was helped to study by the government.

This use of ជាន /baan/ is usually translated by an English passive.

3. past tense marker:

គេជានប្រាប់យើងពី(ពេល)ប្រឹក។

/kee baan prap yəəŋ pii(peel) prɨk/

They told us this morning.

4. 'can, to be able':

ខ្ញុំរៀមិនជាន។

/khñom tɨw mɨn baan/

I can't go.

5. before a quantity of completed work:

ខ្ញុំមើលសៀវភៅជានពីរក្បាល។

/khñom meel səphɨw baan pii kbaal/

I read (and finished) two volumes.

6. 'for...' (duration of time):

វារៀនជានពីរអាទិត្យ។

/via rien baan pii aatɨt/

He studied for two weeks.

7. 'not...until':

ដិល់ម៉ោងពីរបានខ្ញុំទៅ។

/dɔl maoŋ pii baan khñom tɨw/

I won't go until two o'clock.

Note that in this usage បាន /baan/ is a fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.1) coming between the condition ដិល់ម៉ោងពីរ (/dɔl maoŋ pii/ 'reach two o'clock') and the contingent event ខ្ញុំទៅ /khñom tɨw/'I'll go.').

8. 'always' in បានតែ /baan tae/:

កុំបានតែនិយាយ។

/kom baan tae niyiey/

Don't always be talking.

9. 'to get to':

ស្អែកខ្ញុំមិនបានទៅទេ។

/s'aɛk khñom mɨn baan tɨw tee/

I won't get to go tomorrow.

This is really a special case of #2 above.

X.2 Summary of ទិយ /aoy/:

1. 'to give':

សុំទិយលុយខ្ញុំ។

/som aoy luy khñom/

Please give me some money.

2. plus adjective, with the meaning 'so that it will be...':

a. following imperative:

សុំមើលទិយច្បាស់។

/som məəl aoy cbah/

Please read clearly.

b. causative, following ធ្វើ /thəə/:

ខ្ញុំធ្វើទុំយពិបាក។

/khñom thəə aoy pibaa?/

I made (it) difficult.

3. causative:

គេឲ្យខ្ញុំរៀនខ្មែរ។

/kee aoy khñom rien khmaɛ/

They had me study Cambodian, or

They let me study Cambodian.

4. 'for, to':

ខ្ញុំធ្វើទុំយវា។

/khñom thəə aoy via/

I did it for him.

Note that formal style replaces ទុំយ /aoy/ by ជូន /cuun/, e.g.

វាធ្វើជូនលោក។

/via thəə cuun look/

He did it for you (sir).

5. 'I wish you...':

សុំទុំយមានសំណាង។

/som aoy mian samnaaŋ/

I wish you luck.

6. 'provided that' in ទុំយតែ /aoy tae/:

ទុំយតែស្រួលអញទៅហើយ។

/aoy taɛ sruol añ tɨw haəy/

Provided it's easy, I'll go.

Note that ឲ្យតែ /aoy tae/ is a non-fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.2.2).

3. 'with':

ខ្ញុំនៅនឹងតាត់

/khñom tɨw nɨŋ kót/

I'll go with him.

4. 'and':

សុខនឹងសិមនៅមើលកុន។

/sok nɨŋ sɨm tɨw məəl kon/

Sok and Sim went to see a movie.

5. 'still, stable':

កូនខ្ញុំឈរនឹងហើយ។

/koun khñom chóo nɨŋ haəy/

My child stood quite still.

The word ហ្នឹង /nəŋ/'this/that' is often pronounced នឹង /nɨŋ/, especially in fast speech in Phnom Penh.

X.5 Summary of ហើយ/haəy/:

1. 'already':

គេមើលកុននោះហើយ។

/kee məəl kon nuh haəy/

They've already seen that movie.

2. in the future, means 'and it's no longer an issue' (implies a promise):

ខ្ញុំនឹងធ្វើអញ្ចឹងហើយ។

/khñom nɨŋ thəə əñcəŋ haəy/

I'll do (it) that way.

3. 'and', used between clauses:

តាត់នៅ ហើយខ្ញុំនៅ។

/kót tɨw haəy khñom nɨw/

He went, and I stayed.

4. 'to be complete':

[illegible]

/thəə aoy haəy tɨw/

Get it finished.

5. 'to finish' (resultative verb):

[illegible]

/yəəŋ thəə mɨn haəy tee/

We can't finish (it).

X.6 Summary of [illegible] /tɨw/:

1. 'to go':

[illegible]

/yəəŋ tɨw srok khmaɛ khaɛ kraoy/

We're going to Cambodia next month.

2. motion away from the speaker:

[illegible]

/som yóo ɛyvan nuh tɨw/

Please take those things away. (follows the verb phrase)

3. events in future time:

[illegible]

/kraoy tɨw, yəəŋ trəw khɔm ntec/

From now on, we'll have to try harder.

4. imperative:

[illegible]

/niyiey khmaɛ tɨw/

Speak Cambodian! (used at end of clause)

APPENDIX B

Cambodian Names and Titles

B.1 Structure

As in much of the rest of East Asia, the name of an individual in Cambodia has two parts, which are called នាមត្រកូល /niam trokool/'surname' and នាមខ្លួន /niam khluon/'given name.' The នាមត្រកូល /niam trokool/ or surname comes first. All ethnic groups in Cambodia follow this system, though the given name may have two parts in the case of Chinese and Vietnamese, e.g. អាំងប៊ុនហៃ /aŋ bun hay/'Ang Bun Hai,' in which អាំង /aŋ/'Ang' is the surname and ប៊ុនហៃ/bun hay/'Bun Hai' are the two parts of the given name.

B.1.1 The Surname

Ethnic Khmer names do not always follow a consistent pattern, perhaps as a result of the fact that surnames were not introduced into Cambodia until 1910. The surname is assigned variously in different families. Probably the most common pattern is to give children the given name of their paternal grandfather as surname, so that in a family in which the paternal grandfather is named កែងយិម/kaɛŋ yim/'KENG Yim' and the father is named កែតឡុច/kaɛt loc/'KET Loch,' a male child might be named យិមខែត /yim khaɛt/'YIM Khet.' Sometimes a female child in such a family is given her maternal grandfather's given name, but usually she receives the paternal grandfather's name also.

Some other families give the children their father's surname, as in Western countries. In such a family the three generations would be named កែងយិម /kaɛŋ yim/ 'KENG Yim,' កែងឡុច /kaɛŋ loc/'KENG Loch,' and កែងខែត /kaɛŋ khaɛt/'KENG Khet.'

Yet other families assign both surname and given names as if both were given names, without reference to the names of other members of the family. Thus, for instance, in such a family, the members of the three generations might be named កែងយិម /kaɛŋ yim/'KENG Yim,' កែតឡុច /kaɛt loc/'KET Loch,' and កែមខែត /kaɛm khaɛt/ 'KEM Khet.'

Yet other families assign the great-grandfather's name as surname. In addition, a person may change his or her name as an adult, choosing a name that is totally unlike the names of other members of the family.

There is also a case of a man who has as surname both his parents' surnames, e.g. the child of KEM Sos and KHAY Toura might be known as KEM-KHAY Ketera.

B.1.2 The Given Name

Given names are generally chosen for euphony and, if the name has meaning, for the meaning. Siblings of the same sex are often given alliterative names, so that three brothers, for example, might be named សាន /saan/'Sann,' សន /soon/'Sân,' សុស /soh/'Sos,' or three sisters in the same family might be named ដី /dii/'Di,' ដន /doon/'Dan,' and ដុំ /dom/'Dom.' Such names need have no meaning at all, being chosen because their sound is pleasing to the parents.

When Khmers give names that have meaning, they normally take names either from the Cambodian language, e.g. កូឡាប /koulaap/'rose,' or from Sanskrit or Pali, e.g. សុរម្យរិទ្ធ /Suramarit/'virtuous and immortal.'

Cambodians who have been influenced by Western culture may give European, especially French, names to their children. They do not ordinarily give Chinese or Vietnamese names unless one parent is Chinese or Vietnamese.

Names of members of the royal family come from Sanskrit and Pali and are normally polysyllabic, e.g. Suramarit, Indravavong, etc. contrasting with names of Khmer origin, which are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic. The present royal family has two main branches, NORODOM and SISOWATH,[1] and each member of the royal family bears one or the other as surname. Members of the royal family are referred to either by both surname and given name, e.g. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, or by given name alone, e.g. Prince Sihanouk.

B.2 Usage

Ordinarily members of a family do not address each other by name but rather use kinship titles (see section U.3.2 above), e.g. បង /boon/'older sibling.' Kinship terms like 'uncle' or 'younger sibling' are also used to address acquaintances and friends.

When a child enters school, his teachers call him by his full name, e.g. គឹម សុស /kem soh/'KEM Sos,' and so his classmates and contemporaries normally follow suit, so that the individual is referred to as គឹម សុស /kem soh/'KEM Sos,' not គឹម /kem/'KEM'

1. There are a few members of the ANG DUONG branch as well.

or ស៊ុស /soh/'Sos' by his contemporaries as well. After reaching adulthood, to intimate friends he may be known as ស៊ុស /soh/'Sos,' while to persons with whom he is on formal terms he may be known as លោក កឹម ស៊ុស /look kɛm soh/'Look ('Mister') KEM Sos or លោក ស៊ុស /look soh/'Look Sos.'

A woman is referred to in the same way, except that she is given the title នាង /niaŋ/ if unmarried or married and of ordinary social status. If married and of higher social status, she may have the title អ្នកស្រី /nɨʔ sreʏ/ or លោកស្រី /look sreʏ/. When a Cambodian woman marries, she keeps her maiden name. In cosmopolitan society or on official documents she takes the French title Madame and her husband's full name. Thus if Kem Sos' wife is named ខៃ ទួរ៉ា /khay tourɑa/'KHAY Toura,' she is known in most of her social and professional dealings as ខៃ ទួរ៉ា /khay tourɑa/ 'KHAY Toura.' However, when she is being considered by cosmopolitan friends as a member of a couple or is listed in official documents, she may well be known as Madame KEM Sos or អ្នកស្រី /nɨʔ sreʏ/ KEM Sos or លោកស្រី /look sreʏ/ KEM Sos. She may also be referred to as នាង /niaŋ/ KHAY Toura wife of KEM Sos.

A divorcée will continue to use the name of her divorced husband as above until remarriage, in which case she will adopt the name of the new husband. A widow does likewise.

B.3 Lists of Titles

B.3.1 Titles in General Formal Address

លោក	/look/	used with males of equivalent or higher social status.
លោកស្រី	/look sreʏ/	used with women of high social status, with wives of high status men, and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women.
អ្នក	/nɨʔ/	used for older women of ordinary social status and for one's mother in អ្នកម្ដាយ /nɨʔ medaay/'mother.'
អ្នកស្រី	/nɨʔ sreʏ/	used with married women of the middle class.
នាង	/niaŋ/	'Miss' (see above, Section U.3.1), also used with children of either sex.
កញ្ញា	/kaññaa/	'Miss' (formal)

B.3.2 Honorific Titles

1. ឯកឧត្តម	/aɛk udom/	His Excellency, Your Excellency
2. លោកជំទាវ	/look cumtiev/	used to address or refer to the wife of an ឯកឧត្តម /aɛk udom/ or to a very high woman official.

B.3.3 Royal Titles

1. ស្តេច	/sdac/	King
ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ	/preh mohaksat/	King
ព្រះចៅ	/prɔ̂h caw/	King
2. អធិរាជ	/athiriec/	Emperor
ព្រះអធិរាជ	/prɔ̂h athiriec/	Emperor
ព្រះចៅអធិរាជ	/prɔ̂h caw'athiriec/	Emperor
3. មហាក្សត្រី	/mohaksatrey/	Queen
មហាក្សត្រិយានី	/mohaksatriyanii/	Queen
4. សម្តេច	/samdac/	'Prince, Princess' one who is eligible to become king or queen. Also a non-hereditary title of nobility which the king could give to a commoner or a member of his family, usually his oldest son. May be used to designate an extremely learned or powerful person as well.[1]
5. ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់	/prɔ̂h ɔŋ mcah/	'Prince, Princess' child of the king
6. អ្នកអង្គម្ចាស់	/nɨ' ɔŋ mcah/	'Prince, Princess' grandchild of a king when both parents are a king's children.
7. ឃុន	/khun/	A wife of the king other than his first wife. She is a commoner.
8. អ្នកមាន	/nɨ' mniaŋ/	A commoner who becomes the wife of a

1. The title សម្តេច /samdac/ has been abolished by decree except for the highest ranks in the Buddhist hierarchy.

		/préh ɔŋ mcah/ or a /néʔ ɔŋ mcah/.
9. ប្រទង់	/truŋ/	Child of a /préh ɔŋ mcah/ or a /néʔ ɔŋ mcah/ whose mother is a commoner.
10. កែកវិ	/kaɛv/	The child of a /truŋ/ or child of any other descendent of a king whose father is a commoner. Children of a /kaɛv/ are considered commoners.

B.3.4 Clerical Titles (for Buddhist clergy)

1. ប្រពះសង្ឆ្យ លោកសង្ឆ្យ	/préh sɔŋ/ /look sɔŋ/	A Buddhist monk
2. នេន	/neen/	A postulant monk (2 or 3 months in the wat)
3. សាមណេរ	/saamenee/	A novice monk (up to approximately two years in the wat)
4. ភិក្ខុ	/phikhoʔ/	A Buddhist monk, particularly one who is no longer a novice
5. មហាធេរ	/mohathae/	A monk who has been in the wat for at least ten years
6. ប្រពះតេជ(ប្រពះ)គុណ	/préh dac/ (préh) kun/	Title for any monk; term of address for a monk
7. ប្រពះមហា មហា	/préh mohaa/ /mohaa/	A monk of high rank, especially the superior of a wat or his assistants This term is used for;
8. ចៅអធិការ	/caw aathikaa/	The elected superior of a wat
9. ប្រគូសូត្ត	/kruu sout/	the elected assistant to the superior of a wat (there are two in each wat); also called
ចៅអធិការរង	/caw aathikaa róoŋ/	'assistant superior'
10. អាចារ្យ	/aacaa/	A lay official who acts as liaison between the wat and the lay community
11. មេគណ	/meekún/	The head of the monks of a province

12. ព្រះសង្ឆនាយក /préh sɔŋ niayuʔ/
ព្រះសម្ពេចសង្ឆ /préh sɔmdac sɔŋ/
ព្រះមហាសង្ឆរាជ /préh mohasɔŋkhariec/
} Chief of the clerical community in Cambodia

Female Clergy

13. ដូនជី /doun cii/
យាយជី /yiey cii/
} A Buddhist nun

14. សាមណេរី /saameneerii, saameneerɛy/ } A novice nun (under two years)

15. ភិក្ខុនី /phikhoʔnii, phikhoʔnɛy/ } A Buddhist nun who is no longer a novice

16. ថេរី /theerii/ A Buddhist nun of at least 10 years standing with administrative responsibility or extra prestige

B.3.5 Military Titles

1. Officers

ឧត្តមសេនីយ	/udom seeney/	General
ឧត្តមសេនីយឯក	/udom seeney aek/	Lieutenant General
ឧត្តមសេនីយទោ	/udom seeney too/	Major General
ឧត្តមសេនីយត្រី	/udom seeney trey/	Brigadier General
វិរសេនីយឯក	/vereʔ seeney aek/	Colonel
វិរសេនីយទោ	/vereʔ seeney too/	Lieutenant Colonel
វិរសេនីយត្រី	/vereʔ seeney trey/	Major
អនុសេនីយឯក	/anuʔ seeney aek/	Captain
អនុសេនីយទោ	/anuʔ seeney too/	First Lieutenant
អនុសេនីយត្រី	/anuʔ seeney trey/	Second Lieutenant

2. Warrant Officers

នាយចំណង់	/niey cɔmnɔŋ/	Warrant Officer
នាយទាហានរង	/niey tiehien róoŋ/	(Junior) Warrant Officer

3. Enlisted Men

ពលបាលឯក	/póol baal aek/	Master Sergeant
ពលបាលទោ	/póol baal too/	Sergeant First Class
ពលបាលត្រី	/póol baal trey/	Sergeant

នាយឯក	/niey aek/	Chief Corporal
នាយទោ	/niey too/	Corporal
ពលឯក	/pŏol aek/	Private First Class
ពលទោ	/pŏol too/	Private
ពលត្រី	/pŏol trey/	Recruit

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